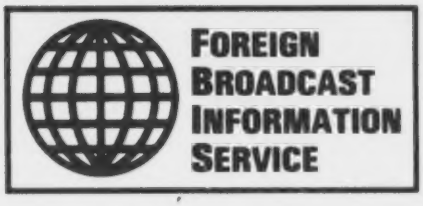

Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Conventional Arms Talks End, Agreements Reached

Closing Announcement

LD1810232889 Moscow TASS in English 2233 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Vienna October 19 TASS—The third round of talks on conventional arms in Europe ends today in the Austrian capital. The talks involve 23 member states of the North Atlantic Treaty and Warsaw Pact organizations.

Political observers agree unanimously that progress in Vienna can be rightfully described as satisfactory. Notable rapprochement has been noticed between countries. The forum has come nearer to the stage of joint search for concrete decisions.

During the previous two rounds, the participants agreed—in most general terms so far—that six categories of armaments would be reduced—tanks, artillery, infantry combat vehicles, tactical aircraft, including helicopters and personnel.

The sides also agreed that maximum permissible equal levels would be determined for these categories in both the military organizations.

During the third round the attention of diplomats and military experts representing WTO [Warsaw Treaty Organization] and NATO was focussed upon information exchange and verification.

The resolution of this issue is the key to securing confidence that agreements on reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe will be strictly observed by all.

Artillery Agreement

LD1910123189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] The first brick in the complicated construction of a future treaty on reducing conventional armaments on the European continent has been laid. At the concluding plenary session of the third round of talks on conventional forces in Europe, which ended today in Vienna, those taking part in the forum from the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO managed to establish the final version of the first agreed text on determination of the artillery that will become a component part of the agreement. This document establishes precisely that all NATO and Warsaw Pact artillery systems having a caliber greater than 100mm and capable of striking targets on the ground, mainly from indirect firing positions, will be subject to reductions.

Before the curtain came down on the round, the Warsaw Pact states placed on the negotiating table two new working documents that undoubtedly will impart additional dynamism to the forum. On behalf of the Warsaw Pact, Ambassador-at-Large Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation, make a proposal on a set of measures on information and verification, as well as on stabilization measures.

'Underground Explosion' in Semipalatinsk Registered

LD1910120989 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] The seismological department of the Uppsala university registered in the morning a strong underground explosion. It was localized to the Semipalatinsk area in Western Siberia.

General Markelov Discusses Armed Forces Cuts

LD1910145189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1344 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 19 Oct (TASS)—"To date, the size of the USSR armed forces has been cut by 168,500 men. The effective combat strength [boyevoy sostav] of the Army and Navy has been cut by 6,680 tanks, 1,070 artillery systems, 591 combat planes, 12 submarines, and 28 surface vessels," stated Major General Yuriy Markelov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces' General Staff Press Center.

In an interview with TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy, he noted that the Soviet Government's decision to withdraw 500 warheads of tactical nuclear systems, including 166 airborne, 50 artillery and 284 missile warheads, from the territory of the Warsaw Pact countries by the end of this year is also being scrupulously carried out.

In General Markelov's words, to date, two aviation and three tank regiments, and four air-assault battalions from the group of Soviet troops have been withdrawn and disbanded. As a result, the staff of the Group of Soviet Troops has decreased by 27,400 officers and men, while weapons and military equipment have been cut by 2,714 tanks, 461 artillery systems, and 310 combat planes.

General Markelov recalled that this year the structure and composition of all types of Soviet armed forces deployed within the country have changed significantly. The administrations of two military districts, the Central Asian and the Urals, one army of general troops, and three army corps have been abolished. Five general troop divisions and four antiaircraft defense divisions and also a significant number of missile, aviation, and other units have been disbanded. Sixteen general troop formations have been transformed into bases engaged in storing arms and military equipment.

"Guided by the new political thinking, the Soviet Union is boldly putting forward unorthodox and innovative approaches to key issues of international life. We counter the unhealthy and dangerous psychology of confrontation with the logic of reason, good will, and constructive dialogue," General Yuriy Markelov said in conclusion.

Soviet Military Inspectors Arrive in Turkey

LD1810173689 Moscow TASS in English 1712 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—In keeping with the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, the Soviet Government requested the Government of Turkey on October 16, 1989 to allow inspection of military activities on its territory.

Having received a positive response, a group of soviet military inspectors arrived in Turkey on October 18 and started inspection.

Gerasimov Conducts 18 Oct News Briefing

Missile Treaty Violation

LD1810135489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 Oct (TASS)—"The Soviet Union is not taking any steps in violation or evasion of the treaty on intermediate and lesser range missiles," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Administration of the USSR Foreign Ministry, announced at a briefing here today. He was commenting on reports by some of the mass media of Western countries that the USSR is undertaking certain measures with the purpose of evading the treaty on intermediate and lesser range missiles.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that missiles coming under the treaty on intermediate and lesser range missiles are being destroyed in compliance with the procedures envisaged by the treaty, and U.S. inspectors had the opportunity to see this for themselves. All intermediate and lesser range missiles would be destroyed in the course of 3 years after the coming into force of the treaty on intermediate and lesser range missiles. Gennadiy Gerasimov added that in the USSR intermediate-range missiles are not being installed on submarines. "We are strictly following the spirit and letter of the treaty on intermediate and lesser range missiles and intend to act this way in future," he said.

Baker Speech in New York

LD1810142189 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—The Soviet Union paid due attention to an important speech made on Sunday [15 October] by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker at the Foreign Policy Association in New York, Soviet Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a meeting here today.

The Soviet side was pleased by Baker's comments on the results of the recent Soviet-American meetings in Washington and Wyoming, the state of affairs in bilateral relations and prospects for their development, Gerasimov continued. They are consonant with the Soviet viewpoint in many respects, he noted.

The speech confirmed the concurrence of the sides' views on the historic chance to establish long-term and positive relations between the USSR and the United States and to proceed from mutual understanding to constructive cooperation, the spokesman said.

Moscow also attaches importance to Baker's statement that Washington's reactions to changes in the East European countries do not aim to damage Soviet security.

San Francisco Earthquake

LD1810131489 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—"President Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a telegram to President George Bush expressing sincere condolences in connection with the natural calamity that hit San Francisco, leaving numerous casualties and destruction," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, revealed at a briefing here today.

He also said that Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has sent a similar telegram to Secretary of State James Baker. The Soviet Ambassador to the United States Yuriy Dubinin has been instructed to get in touch urgently with the American Administration to find out what Soviet aid could be rendered through official and public channels.

"The feelings of the American people at this moment are especially close and understandable for the Soviet people who have recently experienced the pain of bereavement in Armenia", Gerasimov stressed.

Israel-Syria MiG-23 Conflict

LD1810200189 Kuwait KUNA in English 1752 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 18 (KUNA)—The Soviet Union said on Wednesday Israel will have to return to Syria a Soviet-built MiG-23 warplane which was flown to the Jewish state last week by a Syrian pilot, branded by Damascus [words indistinct] Israeli agent.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a press briefing that Israel is obliged by international norms to return to Damascus the Syrian Air Force fighter. But he was quick to distance Moscow from the affair, saying "we have nothing to do with the issue, because it concerns Syria and Israel."

Gerasimov, meanwhile, denied rumors that the current visit to the Soviet Union by Syrian army chief of staff Hikmat Shihabi was in lieu with [as received] the landing in Israel of the MIG-23.

TASS Roundup

LD1810164489 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a telegram to President George Bush expressing sincere condolences in connection with the natural calamity that hit San Francisco, leaving numerous causalties and destruction, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a news briefing today.

The Soviet Union paid due attention to an important speech made on Sunday by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker at the Foreign Policy Association in New York, said Gennadiy Gerasimov.

The speech confirmed the concurrence of the sides' views on the historic chance to establish long-term and positive relations between the USSR and the United States and to proceed from mutual understanding to constructive cooperation.

G nnadiy Gerasimov described the attainment of preliminary agreement on defining such a category of weapons as artillery, as a fact testifying to the constructive nature of the Vienna talks on conventional forces. In addition to artillery, agreement should be reached on five more categories of conventional weapons.

The creation of a new political organisation in Kabul, the National Redemption Association, which united prominent leaders of former Afghan governments, reaffirms the adherence of the current Afghan leadership to the policy of national reconciliation, based on political pluralism.

"The Soviet Union is not taking any steps to violate or circumvent the INF treaty," Gennadiy Gerasimov commented on reports in Western mass media alleging that the Soviet Union was taking measures to get around the INF treaty.

The spokesman said Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev discussed with a delegation of the Singaporean Parliament, led by its Speaker Tan Soo Kun [name as received] prospects for further developing Soviet-Singaporean relations, as well as some problems relating to the Asia-Pacific region, including south-east Asia.

He also said that Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin met today Robert Badinter, chairman of the Constitutional Council, to probe ways of extending Soviet-French cooperation in the legal field.

The fourth round of talks on border issues between government delegations of the USSR and China will start in Beijing on October 20. The Soviet delegation will be led by Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev, the Chinese by Deputy Foreign Minister Tianczengpei [name as received].

UNESCO Reforms Discussed, Shevardnadze Cited

PM1710110589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Oct 89 Morning Edition p3

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "UNESCO at the Hour of Restructuring"]

[Text] Paris—The 25th session of the UNESCO General Conference will open in Paris 17 October. During the next month delegations from the 158 UNESCO member-states will be discussing draft programs and the draft budget for the next 2 years and the draft mid-term plan for 1990-1995, as well as a number of other issues.

This jubilee session, which is taking place at a time of serious reforms in UNESCO, will have special significance.

"UNESCO," E.A. Shevardnadze said, speaking at its Paris headquarters, "has not been left untouched by the political and ideological tumult of the age and, unable to withstand this tumult, it has become disunited and vulnerable to the destructive influence of a multitude of bloc, group, and individual interests." Protesting against what was seen as the excessive "politicization" and "ideologization" of the organization in the eyes of certain states—and, according to the Soviet minister, we, too, were to blame for this—the United States, Britain, and Singapore withdrew from the organization after a noisy anti-UNESCO campaign. As a result of this, the organization lost approximately one-third of its budget, which comes from contributions by the member-states. It had to abandon many important programs, rethink others, and "freeze" vacancies. This situation was made still worse by UNESCO's chronic ills: Ineffectual programs, dissipation of resources, and inadequate qualifications on the part of members of the secretariat, on the upkeep of which more than half of its budget is used. Many Western figures felt that the responsibility for this situation should be carried by the Senegalese A.M. M'Bow, who was head of the UNESCO Secretariat for 13 years.

At the last General Conference in 1987, Federico Mayor, a Spanish biochemist, was elected new general director. Immediately after his election, in a conversation with your correspondent, he noted the need to "restructure" UNESCO in conditions of full "glasnost."

So, what has the new general director managed to do? What are the results of his 2 years of restructuring?

In a comparatively short space of time F. Mayor has wrought definite positive changes and restored good relations between the organization and the member-states. However, in the opinion of observers and members of various states' representative bodies attached to UNESCO, with whom I spoke on the eve of the General Conference, so far the reforms begun have failed to produce any significant results.

After his election, Mayor resolved to place the emphasis on the "intellectualization" of UNESCO and on making it a "thinking head," a generator of ideas, which would help mankind in the solution of global problems. This, unfortunately, he has so far failed to achieve.

UNESCO has not been able to make proper use of the new political climate and has fallen out of step with the processes taking place in the world. There are still few important projects that many countries could have an interest in. The organization wastes too many resources

on secondary programs and frequently plays the role of a technical assistance agency rather than an intellectual center.

Possibly the source of greatest interest is the mid-term program of UNESCO activity, which proclaim. as its main aims the promotion of stronger peace, environmental protection, and the staging of an international decade of cultural development.

The question of whether the United States and Britain will return to UNESCO is now the subject of lively discussion. It goes without saying that there can hardly be any talk of observing the principle of universality in this organization without the participation of two great powers.

The Soviet Union plays an active role in UNESCO activity and, together with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) and the Belorussian SSR, makes the biggest contribution to the organization's budget, which annually totals approximately 30 million dollars. On the one hand, we should undoubtedly derive great benefit from the various UNESCO projects—both for our science and for the economy as a whole. For this to happen, there must be improvements in the mechanism of our involvement in this organization. On the other hand, we could increase our intellectual contribution to the organization and promote its enhanced efficiency.

The first important steps have been taken in the direction of restructuring the international UNESCO association and turning it into a real intellectual-ethical center. Whether it will be successful largely depends on its member-states and on their decisions, which will be taken by the organization's highest organ, its General Conference.

UNESCO Holds 'Historic' 25th Session in Paris

LD1710200289 Moscow TASS in English 1949 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Paris October 17 TASS—The 25th session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) opened here today. The representatives of 158 member states and those of states having the observer status are participating in the conference.

The general conference will consider adopting the third midterm programme of UNESCO activity for 1990-1995, that was submitted by the director-general. They must also approve the 1990 budget and decide on the programmes it will sponsor over the next two years. The discussion of the programme "Priority to Aftica" will be very important. The programme covers measures aimed at deepening UNESCO cooperation with African countries. These measures are to raise the education and literacy level of people and to train highly qualified specialists in Africa.

A certain number of new programmes which are planned for next year were on the agenda of the conference. Large-scale projects in different branches of science, education and culture include: The programme "Education and the Future", the projects "Science for Progress and Environment" and "Communication at the Service of Mankind."

Demands to raise the effectiveness of UNESCO activity form the backbone of the third midterm programme, the director-general Federico Mayor said to LE MONDE on Monday.

The session is generally believed to have historic significance, Soviet Permanent representative Vladimir Lomeyko told TASS. It needs to define perspectives for UNESCO activity under new political conditions.

Some rather favourable opportunities to strengthen the international links in science and culture are under way. The Soviet Union is eager to cooperate extensively with UNESCO and to take part in its programmes.

The Soviet eagerness was evident at the UNESCO director-general's meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. A number of agreements on cooperation between UNESCO and various Soviet organisations were signed here.

Progress of European Economic Integration Noted

LD1810212989 Moscow TASS in English 2115 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

In the world today, production becomes transnational, and economic integration is achieved. This particularly characteristic for Europe. Intensive integrational processes are now taking place in various regions of Europe.

There are many international organisations in Europe, among them the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the European Community, the European Association for the Study of Science and Technology (EASST), the Nordic Council, Alpe-Adria Association

The idea of a common European home is gaining the ground. In these conditions, relations between international groups assume greater importance, and each of them has a greater responsibility for the destinies of the European process that was started by the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

It is no accidental that these questions became topics of debates at the international conference on the development of economic cooperation between CMEA and the European Community, that was held in Moscow.

The fact that not only representatives of CMEA and the Economic Community but also of EASST and the

Nordic Council, took part in the exchange of opinions, imparted a special, one might say, political meaning to the dialogue.

Interaction is so far a matter of future. But the fact that it is in the order of the day shows that the idea of forming European economic domain is winning over the minds and receives support in various areas of Europe.

Gerhard Randa, vice-president of a large Austrian company, Kreditanstalt-Verein, said at the conference that EASST, of which Austria is also the member, can be a link in processes of European integration, in bringing closer regional economic formations.

Neutral and non-aligned European countries continue to contribute to a successful quest of solutions to overcome the split of Europe in economic matters.

It is precisely such states, specifically Finland, Austria and Switzerland that accumulated over many years valuable experience, acting as mediators in commercial and economic exchange between East and West Europe.

Regional integration is a natural process in the world today. East and West of Europe are not an exception.

It was emphasised at the Moscow conference that it is now important to ensure that political barriers in Europe are not replaced by economic barriers.

It appears that the concept of a common European home in the economy could receive more tangible support in the framework of active interaction between CMEA and the European Community, and also among all other European integrational groups, specifically in scientific and technological cooperation, the development of European infrastructure, the solution of ecological problems in Europe.

In principle, there are no barriers to this.

CEMA-EC Conference Seeks Economic Cooperation

LD1810214689 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

Gerald Hinteregger, executive secretary of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), addressed the international conference on economic cooperation between CMEA and the European Community, held here from October 14 to 15. He offered ECE services to help establish and develop mutually advantageous cooperation between groups of countries in East and West Europe.

The initiative is in keeping with the task set by the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe; to promote and consolidate economic cooperation of countries with different social and economic systems in the interests of all member-countries.

The initiative also proceeds from a sober assessment of powers and potentials of CMEA and the European Community, relying on the experience that ECE experts have accumulated. Research conducted by the commission's experts is sought and readily used by states and individual companies.

For instance, ECE has already become a recognized forum for the working out of compatible national policies in standardisation. The commission possesses vast knowledge in the area of transportation of cargoes, simplification of the procedures of customs formalities, etc.

Relying on the commission's resources, Hinteregger called for an international secretariat on cooperation consisting of representatives from the three organisations. He also suggested regularly holding tripartite meetings on the range of problems of cooperation in environmental protection, transport, power, statistics, standardisation, and long-term forecasts, as well as other questions.

It appears that the commission is prepared to assume part of organisational work to establish cooperation in a number of areas.

The commission offers its services for the development of relations between the European community and separate CMEA countries. Commercial ties could use computer systems developed by ECE, trade analysis on a compensational basis, research on joint enterprises, and so on.

The exchange of opinion at the conference indicates that there is a positive attitude towards the initiative of ECE leadership.

Participants believe that this will make it possible to avoid the duplication of work that has already been done by ECE, by CMEA and the European Community. Moreover Western representatives see no obstacles to adopting Hinteregger's proposal. There are no conditions attached and it does not contradict COCOM rules operating in NATO countries.

The United Nations is regarded everywhere as a unique instrument without which the world policy cannot now be imagined. The revival of the United Nations role is connected with the improvement of the international climate.

The United Nations combines the interests of different states. It is the sole organisation that can combine both bilateral and regional efforts.

The initiative of ECE leadership is timely and suits the interests of all parties. It deserves support both from CMEA and the European Community.

Galvin's Remarks Criticized as 'Nonproductive'

90UI0011A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 4 Oct 89 p 3

[Article by Petr Parkhitko under the rubric "Opinion of a Commentator": "Reversion to Military Thinking"]

[Text] Speaking recently in the headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty alliance in Mons (Belgium), the commander in chief of the allied armed forces of NATO in Europe, American General John Galvin, came out again in support of a further increase in the nuclear arsenals of the bloc. In Galvin's opinion, the consequences of detente in the relations between the East and the West can only be... instability and unpredictability.

Literally just several days before Galvin's speech, a Soviet-American meeting was held at a minister of foreign affairs level in the state of Wyoming between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker at which the sides, in particular, stated that, in view of the new compromise amendments introduced by them in their positions, preparation for the signing of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in SNV [strategic offensive weapons] is realistic. On 29 September, there was a resumption in Geneva of Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear and space weapons which, again in consideration of agreements reached in Wyoming, have good prospects. Thus, progress on questions of disarmament is present, just as the political will of both sides and the movement forward is present.

It is no surprise under these circumstances that there is a growing aggressiveness by the "hawks" who sense a direct threat to their positions, which are based on the opposition of two military-political alliances under conditions of a continuation of the arms race and an increase in militarization. They are also trying, as is being done, in particular by General Galvin, to adopt "reciprocal courses," based on their own unchanging thesis of "a threat from the East."

However, in our days, when the new political thinking is winning more and more authority and recognition, the "threat from the East" practically no longer works as an argument; moreover—it strikes at its advocates. Thus, for example, Galvin's speech was received in the political circles of the FRG, mildly speaking, with disbelief. Walter Kolbov a well-known political figure of this country and chairman of the Bundestag Commission on Defense Questions, said that Galvin's statements "are not in keeping with the spirit of the times and are politically nonproductive." Emphasizing that the statements of the American general are a "reversion to militaristic thinking," V. Kolbov indicated that "it is the relaxation of tensions and control over weapons—mutually coordinated, verifiable, and consolidated in treaties—that is a contribution to the strengthening of stability."

UN Official Discusses Help for Africa's Problems

PM1810110589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Professor Adebayo Adedeji, executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, by own correspondent G. Ustinov: "Africa Is Thirsting for Change"—date and place unspecified, first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Statistics state that Africa has the lowest per capita income in the world. In the decades of independence most African countries have been worse off than before: Unemployment, starvation, homelessness, and other social ills torment Africans.

What are the reasons for this situation? IZVESTIYA's correspondent in Ethiopia discussed this with Adebayo Adedeji, executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and UN assistant secretary general. This commission was set up back in 1958 with its headquarters in Addis Ababa. Its task is to accelerate economic and social progress in the continent's countries. Professor Adedeji, an eminent Nigerian economist, has headed the UN ECA since 1975. [passage omitted]

[Ustinov] How do you assess the prospects for developing cooperation between the USSR and African countries? Do they need any amendment?

[Adedeji] We know that reform of the mechanism of foreign economic ties is under way in your country. More and more enterprises, organizations, and cooperatives are independently entering foreign markets. It seems to me that they and the UN ECA could collaborate. This collaboration could take the form, for instance, of consultation services in developing trade between African countries and the Soviet Union, as well as with the other socialist countries. This means studying markets, assessing various projects that create new opportunities for trade, and preparing reviews of supply and demand. New steps are quite probable in direct exchanges of goods and mutually advantageous economic cooperation.

To think in larger terms, the greatest contribution could be made by setting up a special center in the Soviet Union to develop trade with the African region. This could be under the auspices of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry or on some other independent basis, for instance. The emergence of such an organization would help to overcome the shortage of information on opportunities for African exports.

It is well known that the USSR gives Africa financial aid. We currently receive this aid mainly through channels regulated by the UN Headquarters in New York. From the ECA's standpoint it would be expedient to examine the possibility of setting up a special fund for Africa. Such a fund could finance different projects on a regional or subregional basis. Thus, Soviet enterprises would

participate more fully in implementing technical aid projects in Africa, using the fund as a kind of springboard.

[Ustinov] Unfortunately, the bulk of international aid to Africa is transformed into funding for military purposes. Yet you yourself say in "The African Alternative" that it is necessary to sharply cut military spending....

[Adedeji] Indeed, in some developing countries of the continent defense spending is several, and sometimes many, times higher than spending on education and health. It is quite obvious that a reduction in military spending would not necessarily be accompanied by a reduction in the level of national security. Therefore we are recommending that a fundamental review of defense budgets be carried out and that the funds released be channeled into the social sphere to overcome poverty. The reduction in army personnel to the limits of reasonable sufficiency could also have a great effect. How greatly peaceful development would benefit from highly qualified military specialists and powerful equipment!

[Ustinov] You spoke with alarm at the start of our conversation about the deterioration in the state of the environment. How is this linked with the economic crisis?

[Adedeji] It is directly linked. The natural resource base on which the stability of development depends is being destroyed without a second thought. The felling of forests, soil erosion, and the trampling of pastureland by livestock are leading to the rapid desertification of Africa and making periods of drought more frequent. At the height of the recent 1984 drought 36 African countries were affected. Some 200 million people suffered from a shortage of food.

What about the importation of toxic waste to the continent! Certain Western countries and major industrial concerns would like to turn Africa into a world dump for highly active toxins. A global convention on the control of cross-border movements of waste was worked out in 1989. The African countries should now sign it so as to close all loopholes for the dangerous pollution of the continent.

Success in curing Africa's ecological ills lies in integrating the administration of nature conservation activity. The first African regional conference on the environment and development—"Kampala, 12-16 July 1989"—discussed these problems in detail.

The USSR has good opportunities to help the African countries in the struggle to prevent the appearance of new deserts. Such organizations as the Deserts Institute are known for their considerable contribution to training qualified cadres, and their technical assistance in the stabilization of sand dunes and the recultivation of vegetation. Many Africans study in the Soviet Union. It would be good if they could also study ecological specialisms. [passage omitted]

Changes in Regional Conflict Areas Discussed

PM1710111989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 89 Second Edition p 7

[Vladimir Tyurkin "Viewpoint": "Way Out of Impasse"]

[Text] No matter how bad regional conflicts are, it can now be said that there have been positive changes in each of them. Whereas last year was marked by political and diplomatic breakthroughs toward a settlement, the more visible feature of the year now drawing to a close is their practical implementation.

In October half of the Cuban units in Angola left. Somewhat earlier the Vietnamese internationalists left Cambodia and the Soviet military contingent has left Afghanistan.

All the commitments, agreements, and schedules have been scrupulously observed. Furthermore, the Cuban internationalists completed the latest stage of their withdrawal ahead of time, 3 weeks before the agreed date of 1 November, so as to give no opportunities to the opponents of a settlement. The unmasking of the insinuations that Vietnamese troops had secretly remained in Cambodia also highlighted the obvious fact that the socialist countries' involvement in combat actions abroad is being completely terminated resolutely and purposefully.

The time is now ripe for some preliminary conclusions. In addition to the obvious and indisputable advantages of the withdrawal of soldiers from trouble spots—ending the loss of life and the waste of material resources—the merits of the new policy include the enhancement of socialism's prestige, the restoration of confidence in our words and deeds, and the general lowering of tension in the world.

The attitude toward the withdrawal of the internationalists by those on whose side they fought is a delicate matter. In my view there are grounds for saying that the "mixed" feelings caused initially by the fear of forfeiting positions without the customary support are giving way to confidence in one's own strength and a determination to adhere to the new approach worked out together with the socialist countries.

There are substantial reasons for that. What have the "intransigents" achieved in Afghanistan since 15 February, when the last army vehicle manned by a Soviet crew left Afghan soil? Nothing militarily, and—in the political sphere—unprecedented disorder within their own ranks. Whereas the government, the ruling party, and the army have discovered enviable reserves of stability, energy, and tenacity.

In Angola and southwest Africa as a whole, quite definite and encouraging trends have been noticed. South Africa's troops have withdrawn completely from Angola and the number in Namibia has been reduced considerably. The Namibian independence process is entering the crucial phase—elections to the Constituent Assembly

are planned for 7 November. There is also intensive work in hand toward a settlement in Angola, where the possibility of a favorable outcome cannot be ruled out either.

Does this mean that the course of events has become categorically positive and in particular irreversible? No way. The problems of reconciliation and achieving national unity are more urgent now than ever before in all three areas. Reaction is in no hurry to bury the hatchet, nor has it abandoned its adventurist plans to crush its opponents. Even the most successful forecaster can hardly predict what will happen in any of those spots in a year's time. The only thing that you can be sure of is the ability that the patriotic and democratic circles are demonstrating now to give the enemy an independent and fitting rebuff.

As for international solidarity, there is no need for it to be clothed in military attire whenever things get difficult. The only pity is that a high price had to be paid for realizing that truth. Experience shows that resorting to force is not only becoming increasingly painful and disadvantageous but also futile. The world has become so fragile and dependent that playing with fire in any one part of it threatens great disaster. The necessary components of the deideologization of international relations—the categorical demand of our era—are not only to stop sending armies to other countries but also to stop inflaming conflicts indirectly—by sending weapons, advisers, and money.

While paying due tribute to the undoubtedly constructive contribution of the United States to the achievements of accords on a settlement in southwest Africa and Afghanistan and its restraint in the recent crisis surrounding Lebanon, one cannot at the same time shut one's eyes to the persistence of dangerous features in its policy toward Angola or Afghanistan. Its continuing support for J. Savimbi, leader of the antigovernment grouping the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, who was received in Washington recently, and incitement of the oppositionists in Afghanistan at a time when the government has extended its hand to them are evidence of relapses into the futile approach based on force.

What is this if not an example of the belated realization by politicians of the rapidly changing circumstances. Yet every day life shows quite convincingly that the only way out of the impasse of confrontation is through dialogue.

Vienna Hosts Forum on Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact

PM1710144189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent V. Smelov dispatch: " 'Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact' Symposium Concluded]

[Text] Vienna, 15 Oct—An international symposium on "The Soviet-German Nonagression Pact and Its International Influence in 1937-1941"—the agreement that went down in history as "The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact"—has ended in the Austrian capital. It attracted great interest.

For 3 days, scholars from Austria, Great Britain, the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union, France, and the FRG exchanged opinions on questions concerning, in particular, the reasons for signing the above-mentioned agreement half a century ago and its consequences.

The Austrian press, which reported on the symposium in detail, made a positive evaluation of the participation of Soviet experts in the symposium. Thanks to the policy of glasnost, the newspaper NEUE AZ writes, they have gone much further in the investigation of these complex problems than their Western colleagues, who still have not been able to rid themselves of obsolete stereotypes.

At the center of the discussion was the question of the historical blame for unleashing World War II. As is well known, this problem is widely exploited in Western propaganda to distort and blacken the Soviet Union's policies in the prewar period. Professor Ilya Kremer (Moscow) gave an address entitled "Toward an Evaluation of 23 August 1939." On the basis of documentary sources and the memoirs of leading politicians of the 1930's and 1940's, he showed the real reasons for the war, the plans and intentions of the sides participating in the political crisis in the summer and fall of 1939, and also the obligatory nature of the change in Soviet policy in August 1939.

This position was supported by the eminent Austrian historian Winfried Garsch, his colleagues Kurt Petzold from the GDR and the Englishman Monty Johnston, and certain other participants in the symposium.

The arguments used by the supporters of the point of view that the responsibility for unleashing World War II should supposedly be "divided equally" between the Nazis and the Soviet leadership of that time literally collapsed under the pressure of questions and facts adduced by the Soviet and many other participants in the forum.

Rimini Conference Ends, Results Noted

LD1910093589 Moscow TASS in English 0738 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Rimini October 19 TASS—"Western countries should give support to reforms in the USSR and other socialist countries," David Manker Abshire, chairman of the Washington Centre for Strategic and International Studies, said at an international three-day conference which ended in Rimini, a small Adriatic coast town, on Wednesday.

"As international tension becomes a thing of the past, NATO should be a more open organisation and should not focus attention only on Soviet missiles," he stressed.

"It is necessary to make steps to relax protectionist and nationalist tendencies and create conditions for equal

participation of East European countries in the system of free multilateral exchange and peaceful economic competition," he stressed.

The conference was attended by over 500 statesmen and politicians, scientists and businessmen from West European countries, the United States, Latin America, the Middle East and Japan. The Soviet side was represented at the conference by a delegation of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, led by Vadim Zagladin, adviser to President Gorbachev.

The participants in the forum heard Mikhail Gorbachev's message of greetings. The conference also received messages from U.S. President George Bush, UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar and President of Italy Francesco Cossiga.

Detente in conditions of perestroika in the USSR and changes in other socialist countries, the development of integration process in Western Europe and the need to fundamentally review mutual relations between developed capitalits and developing countries were all thoroughly discussed.

Former West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt stressed the need for immediate steps to establish control over the international movement of capital.

"The U.S. balance of payments deficit predetermined the amassing of capital in Japanese and West German banks, used not to give assistance to developing African, Asian and Latin American countries, but to finance the American debt," he said.

The conference was held on the initiative of the Pio Manzu Centre which has the status of a U.N. consultative agency.

United States & Canada

Secretary of State Baker's 18 Oct Speech Reported

PM1810172589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "U.S. Approach Toward Relations With USSR"]

[Text] New York, 18 Oct—Today the United States and the USSR really have a historic opportunity to secure a stable improvement in their relations, U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker declared in a speech to members of the Foreign Policy Association in New York. The speech, which was in the nature of a program, is regarded by local observers as one of the most serious attempts by the U.S. leadership to make a profound analysis of the present state and development prospects of relations between the two great powers.

Noting that "relations with the Soviet Union have improved considerably since 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev began perestroyka," the head of the U.S. foreign policy department dwelt in detail on the extensive transformations now taking place in the USSR. He stressed that perestroyka is the "Soviet answer to a rapidly changing world." In the secretary of state's opinion, "the very logic of this perestroyka requires that Soviet people independently solve their problems in an all-embracing and natural way.... Therefore perestroyka is different from the earlier failed attempts at transformations in the state founded by Lenin and built by Stalin." And for this reason the "Soviet problems cannot be salvaged with abundant Western credits from abroad. That policy failed during the Brezhnev era of stagnation."

Stressing that the "nature of perestroyka itself transcends the bounds of purely internal transformations" and that these are inextricably linked with the new thinking in foreign policy, J. Baker pointed out: "We have a chance of leaving behind the postwar period of 'cold war,' which has been full of ups and downs. We can go beyond the bounds of the policy of deterrence, so that the changes for the better in relations between the superpowers are more reliable and less reversible. Our task consists of finding stable points of mutual advantage that will serve the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union."

Proceeding from this premise, the U.S. secretary of state highlighted five spheres for seeking Soviet-U.S. rapprochement, foremost among which, in the administration's opinion, is the solution of Europe's problems. In paticular, this program envisages accelerating the formulation of an agreement on reducing conventional forces and armaments, which, in the secretary of state's view, will make it possible to correct the existing military asymmetry and to lessen the risk of a surprise attack, and also may help perestroyka in the Soviet Union in that it will make it possible to save tremendous material resources. "A treaty on conventional arms is the most reliable way of making sizable savings. But the most important point is that an agreement can clearly show the world that East and West are capable of destroying the political and military legacy of the 'cold war,'" J. Baker said.

The second area of the quest for Soviet-U.S. mutual understanding, in his opinion, is the settlement of regional conflicts. "Each of them to a certain extent is in danger of becoming an arena of superpower rivalry and a source of tension. With the proliferation of missiles and chemical weapons in troubled regions, conflicts in the Third World will obviously become more dangerous. Regional conflicts will become harder to contain, the likelihood of more countries' getting involved in them will grow, and the threat of their escalation will increase. Neither the United States nor a Soviet Union in the midst of perestroyka wants to get involved in such conflicts," J. Baker said.

The secretary of state expressed U.S. willingness to act with the USSR in reducing the risk of the outbreak of war. He stressed that at the talks on strategic nuclear armaments the United States will continue to place the main emphasis on reducing those types of weapons which are most suitable for a first strike and to advocate those armaments which are less suitable for that purpose—bombers, for example.

Our administration, the secretary of state said, "is seeking to conclude treaties which would be ratified by the Senate and would consolidate, in conditions of reliable verification [proverka], the new relations between the USSR and the United States in the security sphere."

J. Baker's fourth area of long-term mutually advantageous cooperation was the development of dialogue on global issues, above all in the sphere of environmental conservation.

"Finally," J. Baker said in conclusion, "we have started to study a potential fifth area in which we can derive mutual benefit. It relates to internal aspects of perestroyka" in the USSR. The secretary of state said that the United States is "prepared to give the Soviet Union technical assistance in certain spheres of economic reform." He mentioned again the promise to revoke the discriminatory Jackson-Vanik amendment, which is hindering the development of trade between the two countries, although he pointed out that the G. Bush administration considers it premature to discuss the matter of the USSR's joining international financial organizations.

Gorbachev Greets U.S.-89 Exhibition Organizers

PM1810154289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[Message from M. Gorbachev: "To the Organizers of and Participants in the 'U.S.-89' Exhibition"]

[Text] An exhibition on this scale is a remarkable event in Soviet-U.S. relations. It is being held here for the first time.

And it is opening at a time when the positive trend in Soviet-U.S. interstate dialogue has received a new boost. In this context the strengthening of interest in the development of trade and economic cooperation between our countries is particularly desirable and timely. I think the exhibition is designed specifically to fulfill this task.

The perestroyka we have begun in foreign economic ties and the direct involvement of thousands of Soviet enterprises in these ties is designed to normalize the position of the Soviet Union, that vast country, in the world economy. I am convinced that this will benefit not only us and the United States, but the world community.

I hope the "U.S.-89" exhibition will promote this process.
I wish it success and welcome its organizers and participants.
M. Gorbachev

Report on U.S. Attorney General's Moscow Talks

LD1710232589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The visit to the USSR by Richard Thornburgh, U.S. attorney general, continues. The U.S. attorney general was received by Comrade Ryzhkov today. Talks on problems of mutual interest took place. A report on the meeting will be published in the press. [video reportage by Yu. Rostov shows Ryzhkov and Thornburgh shaking hands, chatting through interpreter, Soviet-U.S. talks in progress: video cuts to show correspondent Rostov standing in front of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs]

[Rostov] While the meeting between Comrade Ryzhkov and the U.S. attorney general was taking place, the meetings opened in Moscow between U.S. experts, who arrived with the attorney general and their Soviet colleagues. A group of specialists who worked in the Ministry of Internal Affairs today discussed the questions of emigration. [video shows a meeting in progress] As we can recall, in the past this was one of the most painful themes. True, not all problems have been resolved now either. The Americans were in particular expressing incomprehension of the fact that even those who did not have access to state secrets over last 15 years are sometimes refused exit from the Soviet Union. They are refused on security considerations. The Soviet side reported that after being examined by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, questions like these are also examined by the Supreme Soviet. Permission to leave is granted in 50 percent of cases. [video continues to show the meeting]

A question for Alexander Vershbow, head of the USSR desk in the U.S. State Department: [video shows Rostov interviewing Vershbow—question and answer in English with superimposed Russian translation] Recently, there was a demonstration in front of the U.S. Embassy. Those wishing to leave the Soviet Union—they have been standing at the U.S. Embassy for weeks—carried slogans reading: Down with American bureaucracy. Is this slogan justified?

[Vershbow] I think both sides have problems with bureaucracy. We are now introducing new regulations in order to facilitate the departure for the United States. For many years we were concerned about the absence of the right of Soviet citizens to leave the Soviet Union. The recent positive trends in this question have impressed us. True, there are still differences between the two sides. [video cuts to show R. Kuznetsov, captioned as chief of department of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs]

[Kuznetsov] I have already told our American colleagues that over 9 months more than 151,000 people in our country obtained permission to travel abroad to various countries of the world for the purpose of permanent residence.

[Announcer] Other working groups discussed today such problems as the establishment of joint enterprises, the search for Nazi criminals, and some other questions.

Agreement on Soviet-U.S. Joint Enterprise Signed

NC1310140789 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Yerevan, 12 Oct (ARMENPRES)—An agreement has been signed in Yerevan for the creation and operation of the joint Soviet-American Armentoy enterprise, with assistance provided by the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic's Trade and Manufacturing Office. The enterprise will manufacture more than 2 million original toys and games in conformity with international standards. The Araks factory of the Ani Scientific Production Association and the well-known American firm Breslau-Morrison-Terziyan incorporated have become partners.

Ruben Terziyan, president of the company and a resident of Chicago, told an ARMENPRES correspondent: The aim of the enterprise is not merely to produce games and toys using the most advanced technology; its objectives also include market research and the sale of the products both in the Soviet domestic market and abroad, for rubles and foreign currency. Armentoy will also expand into other types of economic operation, provide services for Soviet and foreign buyers, assist a number of Soviet firms to shift to toy and games production, and buy or rent the equipment needed for production operations.

There are plans for the future joint production of micropropellors in Armenia in a joint venture with the aforesaid company and other firms. These items are employed

in a dozen branches of modern industry. Ruben Terziyan donated $100,000 to the assistance fund for the victims of the earthquake.

Yakovlev Receives Canadian Provincial Minister

LD1710172789 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, received today James Horsman, deputy premier and minister for federal and inter-governmental affairs of Canada's Alberta Province.

Horsman is in Moscow at the invitation of the Russian Federation's government.

Yakovlev and Horsman discussed topical issues and prospects of Soviet-Canadian cooperation.

China

Rogachev, Delegation Arrive for Border Talks

LD1910143189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1329 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Beijing, 19 October, (TASS)—Deputy USSR Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev, head of a Socialist parliamentary delegation, arrived here today to take part in the latest round of Soviet-Chinese talks on border issues. He was met at the airport by Vice Foreign Minister of the PRC Tian Zengpei, head of the Chinese parliamentary delegation.

The USSR ambassador of the PRC was among those meeting him.

Jiang Zemin on Purging CPC of Demonstrators

PM1810141589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "A Serious Test Has Been Passed. The General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee on Party Policy"]

[Text] The most important tasks in the sphere of the party's organizational work at the present stage were set by Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, in his 21 August speech at a conference of organizational department leaders from CPC committees in China's provinces, cities under central jurisdiction, and autonomous regions. The CPC leader's speech was published today by RENMIN RIBAO, organ of the CPC Central Committee.

The CPC, he said, is the world's largest Communist Party with more than 48 million members and over 3 million party organizations. The events which occurred last spring and summer in Beijing testify that it has passed a serious test. Nonetheless, there must be no underestimation of the existence of serious problems within the party. Like, for example, the participation by a large number of CPC members in the Beijing demonstrations. During the young people's actions in the capital, party organizations tried to warn some young Communists against participating in the demonstrations. They heard in reply statements to the effect that "they are students first, and party members only second, and cannot but participate in students' demonstrations." Such members of the CPC do not live up to the name of Communists, the general secretary of the CPC Central Committee said, since at a time that was critical for the party they placed the interests of illegal organizations above the CPC's interests. They cannot remain in the CPC's ranks and, by getting rid of them, the party will not lose anything.

In the past, Jiang Zemin pointed out, the CPC gave serious attention to countering attacks by hostile forces. Subsequently work in this important sphere has slackened. It is impossible to avoid mentioning the harmful influence that Comrade Zhao Ziyang's mistaken position had on the CPC or the negative effect of bourgeois liberalization. In this context, at the present stage of party building it is necessary to focus attention on the party's qualitative rather than quantitative composition.

The present situation, the Chinese Communists' leader emphasized, demands the application of most serious efforts to ensure the purity of party ranks. Whereas educational methods could be applied to young people who got involved in antigovernment demonstrations, a strict approach must be adopted toward cadre workers and especially those in leadership position.

Wu Xueqian on Principles for Interparty Ties

PM1810133989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Wu Xueqian Interview"]

[Text] Delhi, 17 Oct—The visit which M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, made to China in May of this year led to the normalization of state and party relations between the PRC and the USSR. Wu Xueqian, vice premier of the PRC State Council, who is here on an official visit, declared this in an interview in the Indian newspaper HINDUSTAN TIMES.

Replying to a question about the situation in the international communist movement in connection with the development of the political situation in Poland, Hungary, and the GDR, he pointed out that China adheres to four basic principles in its relations with other communist parties: independence, full equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in each other's affairs.

Chinese Trade Union Chairman Interviewed

90UI0034A Moscow TRUD in Russian
12 Oct 89 p 3

[Report on interview with the chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, Ni Zhifu, by TRUD correspondent D. Struzhentsov: "We Have Felt the Friendliness of the Soviet People"; on the occasion of a visit by a Chinese trade union delegation to the USSR, in Leningrad, on 11 October]

[Text] On the last day of a visit to Leningrad by a delegation of the ACFTU [All-China Federation of Trade Unions], TRUD correspondent D. Struzhentsov asked the head of the delegation, ACFTU Chairman Ni Zhifu, to respond to a number of questions.

[Struzhentsov] Could you share with us information on the course of implementing the resolutions of the 11th Chinese Trade Union Congress?

[Ni Zhifu] The 11th Congress of Chinese Trade Unions held in October of last year became a forum of transformations. It set two tasks: vigorous participation in reforms and promoting the reform of trade unions themselves. In the year since then, these goals have been successfully achieved. The contractual system of economic responsibility and a system of meetings of representatives of workers and clerical employees at enterprises have developed further. Gradually, the practice of joint meetings is emerging in the course of which local trade union and administrative organs hold mutual consultations and a dialogue on the problems affecting the interests of workers.

As far as carrying out the restructuring of trade unions themselves, in this matter we are making efforts, while leaning on primary echelons, to eliminate the administrative approach, to make the nature of work by trade union organizations mass and democratic. The ACFTU is conducting an experiment in comprehensive trade union reform in 15 cities of our country. At present we are generalizing the experience accumulated in the course of the experiment.

[Struzhentsov] How do Chinese trade unions participate in carrying out the plans of socialist modernization, reforms, and transformations in the PRC?

[Ni Zhifu] The trade unions of China believe combining the development of social productive forces with defending the fundamental interests of workers to be the main leading principle. We strive to mobilize the workers and clerical employees for expanding most varied forms of labor competition and increasing its economic returns. Along with defending the interests of the state as a whole, we resolutely advocate the specific interests of working people, show concern for resolving the urgent issues of workers' everyday lives, and wage a struggle against the bureaucracy which not only fails to take interest in the needs of workers and clerical employees, but also infringes on their democratic rights. Thus we invigorate the creativity of the broad masses of workers.

We make efforts to organize indoctrination work among the broad masses of workers and clerical employees, raise their ideological, moral, cultural, and technical level.

[Struzhentsov] What is your opinion of the prospects for Chinese-Soviet trade union cooperation and the most important tasks of international activities of the ACFTU?

[Ni Zhifu] China and the Soviet Union are two great socialist powers, neighbors. We note with satisfaction that due to joint efforts of the parties the relations of friendship and cooperation have received a new impetus in recent years. As a result of the successful visit to our country by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev in May of this year, the normalization of relations between our two countries has been accomplished which has opened new and still broader prospects for the development of friendly contacts between the trade unions of the PRC and the USSR.

In the course of the visit of our delegation in the Soviet Union, we discussed with the leaders of Soviet trade unions the issues of reinforcing our bilateral trade union cooperation. Both sides believe that we are facing many similar problems in the course of reforms and restructuring. We hope that in the future the mutual exchange of information and sharing of work experience, including the issue of restructuring the trade unions themselves, will be stepped up. I am sure that the further reinforcement of relations of friendship and cooperation between the trade unions of our countries not only is in the vital interest of the Chinese and Soviet peoples, but also facilitates the strengthening of unity of the international trade union movement, the cause of peace throughout the world.

The Chinese trade unions believe that at present the working class and the trade unions of the entire world face three major issues: issues of peace, development, and defending the interests of the workers. Firm adherence to the course toward independence and freedom, extensive contacts with the outside world, joint efforts with the trade unions of all countries in the cause of defending peace throughout the world, the promotion of universal development and defense of the rights and interests of the workers are the most important tasks in the international activities of the PRC trade unions.

[Struzhentsov] Could you please tell us about your impressions of the meetings and talks which were held in the course of the official friendly visit by the ACFTU delegation in the USSR.

[Ni Zhifu] We were given a friendly reception during our visit. This enabled us to profoundly feel the friendliness of workers in the Soviet Union with regard to the Chinese people. We saw that the Soviet workers have

vigorously joined perestroyka and are facilitating the advancement of the cause of socialist construction. We sincerely wish further successes to the Soviet workers and Soviet trade unions.

Mironenko Leads Komsomol Delegation to China

PM1710115289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Komsomol Envoys in China"]

[Text] Beijing, 13 Oct—Following the restoration of relations between the CPC and the CPSU, ties have also been normalized between our countries' communist youth organizations, and we are very glad about that, Li Ruihuan, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee, stated at a meeting with a delegation from the Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] headed by V. Mironenko, first secretary of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee. The Komsomol delegation had arrived in the PRC at the invitation of the Chinese Communist Youth League.

Delegation Concludes Visit

OW1610021189 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] A Soviet Komsomol delegation has concluded its visit to China. The visit was mainly aimed at restoring ties between the two countries' youth leagues.

In assessing the visit, Mironenko, first secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol, said: There are several factors favoring the development of cooperation between the two youth leagues. First of all, the two countries are carrying out similar activities to a certain extent. Since young people are greatly interested in what is happening in the Soviet Union and China, we should start our cooperation in the field of news media for the young people. It is for this reason that both sides have agreed to set up an office in Beijing for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and an office in Moscow for CHINA YOUTH JOURNAL. The establishment of these offices is aimed at promoting exchanges between the two youth leagues.

Plans have also been made to exchange teachers, apprentices, and lecturers and broaden channels to strengthen direct ties between local youth league committees, particularly those in the border regions.

Arkhipov Leads Friendship Delegation to PRC

LD1410153989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Correspondent Albert Papayan report from Beijing]

[Text] In the year of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle for their national and social liberation and in the 1950's the Soviet Union afforded China great assistance. The Chinese people will never forget this. This was stated by Yao Yilin, vice premier of the PRC State Council, at a meeting with a delegation of veterans of the Society for Soviet-Chinese Friendship.

In the course of a warm and relaxed conversation, it was stressed that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations corresponds to the long-term, fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries, who nurture feelings of friendship and respect toward one another. It is making a weighty contribution toward making the climate in the world healthier, and word strengthening stability on the Asian continent and in the world as a whole.

Ivan Arkhipov, leader of the Soviet delegation and deputy chairman of the Central Board of the Society for Soviet-Chinese Friendship, noted that Soviet people have related and continue to relate with unchanging sympathy to the Chinese people's desire to make their motherland independent and dependent on no one, to make it a modern and flourishing power, and the Soviet people wish them new and great achievements.

Soviet-Chinese relations received a powerful stimulus following the visit to China by Comrade Gorabchev in May of this year. The summit that took place then created the political prerequisites for an increase in cooperation between the Soviet Union and China in the most varied areas, and as is thought in both Moscow and Beijing, there are potential possibilities and reserves for this in trade and commercial relations, in technical cooperation, in culture and education, in health care, and in many other spheres.

Now it is important to go forward, to flesh out the accords reached in the course of the Mikhail Gorbachev's May visit to the PRC with real actions. It is important for two great peoples that are neighbors to know more about each other, about, about the problems facing Soviet and Chinese societies in the course of perestroyka and reform, in their work to improve socialism.

With this aim the two countries recently have been actively developing contacts among party, state, and public organizations, and as the Chinese press notes, the visit by the delegation of veterans of the Society for Soviet-Chinese friendship undoubtedly has facilitated the further extension of links between the peoples of the Soviet Union and China.

Youth League Chiefs Cited on Beijing Talks

PM1610075189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 89 p 3

[Special correspondent A. Platkovskiy report: "Closer Ties With China. All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League Delegation Ends Visit to PRC"]

[Text] Beijing—The main result of this visit is the restoration of ties between the two Communist youth leagues.

It is understandable that the restoration of relations is more than just some ritual action. It implies bringing them to a state of normality in line with the interests and potential of the two leagues. And this work is expected to take a few years. Readiness to embark on it was expressed by both sides at the Beijing talks. What was discussed?

There are factors promoting the development of our cooperation, V. Mironenko, first secretary of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee, said in reply to this question. Primarily the fact that the processes occurring in our countries are similar to a certain extent. There are also problems and phenomena among young people which worry us to an equal degree. There are also, of course, differences in approaches and work methods. But this, in my view, ought to stimulate our cooperation and help us build new relations.

Taking into account the exceptional interest shown by young people in what is happening in the USSR and in China, it is necessary to begin by developing cooperation between the youth mass media. It is intended to open correspondents' offices of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Beijing and of ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Moscow as well as journalistic exchanges between both central and local press. The second avenue of cooperation involves the exchange of experience in our leagues' practical work. Direct contacts will be established between the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School and the Communist Youth League [CYL] Political Institute for Young People. They will exchange tutors, students, and lecturers. Cooperation will be organized in the information exchange sphere and in the holding of joint debates and conferences. A broad field of activity is opening up for local Komsomol committees, primarily in border regions, in the sphere of direct ties.

And how does the Chinese side appraise the results of the talks?

We are satisfied with the results achieved during the Komsomol delegation's visit, Song Defu, first secretary of the CYL Central Committee, said. There are good prospects for cooperation, relations are taking a normal course. And I hope that they will develop further.

China's CYL has now encountered fresh problems. New approaches are needed. At times we find them, at other times we fail. The majority of our CYL workers have changed their thinking, it has become freer and more independent. This is very important. On the other hand, however, an excessive leaning toward debate has developed. And practical activity is being underestimated. Young people display lack of comprehension of the differences between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy. Some of them assume, for example, that democracy means total freedom to say anything that crosses yours mind. Others try to artificially accelerate the process of democratization, ignoring specific conditions. There can be no doubt that democratization must be implemented step by step.

During its visit the Komsomol delegation had meetings and conversations with CYL officials, students, and workers in Beijing, Guangzhou, Shanghai, and the "Zhuhai" special economic zone. While in Beijing the delegation met with Li Ruihuan, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee.

PRC Leaders Voice Support for PLO

PM1510190789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Supporting the Struggle"]

[Text] Beijing, 5 Oct—China will continue to support Palestine's just struggle, China's top leader Deng Xiaoping said here today. He was receiving PLO Executive Committee Chairman Y. 'Arafat, who is on a visit to the PRC, in the House of People's Assemblies.

There were also talks today between Li Peng, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee and premier of the PRC State Council, and Y. 'Arafat. The Chinese Government head stressed that the PRC has always opposed Israel's policy of aggression and expansion and supported the Arab people and the people of Palestine in their just struggle. It has the support of an increasing number of countries. Li Peng put forward a five-point proposal on the development of the peace process in the Near East which notes the importance of convening an international conference on the matter and of organizing direct dialogue between the PLO and Israel.

Ideology Shift Fuels 'Daqing Spirit' Revival

PM1710143589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "Why Are They Reviving the 'Daqing Spirit'?"]

[Text] Beijing—The 28-gun salute in Tiananmen Square on 1 October, during the ceremony celebrating the 40th anniversary of the birth of the PRC, symbolized the 28 years of difficult struggle by the CPC for the victory of the revolution between its foundation in 1921 and the proclamation of the People's Republic in 1949.

In the days before the festival, there were mentions of yet another symbol, this time not so ancient. A PRC State Council message to the workers of the Daqing oilfields, which are in northeast Heilongjiang, said that the Daqing experience is a valuable spiritual nugget which must be preserved and enriched. The "spirit of Daqing" is patriotism and management in accordance with the principles of an uncomplaining life and hard work, a realistic view of things, and self-sacrifice.

It was on 26 September 1959, 4 days before the PRC 10th anniversary celebrations, that the oil began to flow, bringing to an end China's long dependence on foreign sources of this fuel. The oilfield was called "Daquing," which means "Great Triumph." In the mid-sixties, when the complex of oil-producing and petroleum-refining enterprises was already producing one-third of the country's crude oil, Mao Zedong launched an "emulate Daqing" propaganda campaign. It was called the model for a Chinese-type enterprise, paving the way for the country's industrialization in accordance with the principle of "relying on one's own efforts." What elements of the Daqing experience were emphasized at the time? Renunciation of material incentives (the enterprise sends all its profits to the state, keeping no money for itself). The principle of self-sufficiency (the members of the workers' families and, indeed, the workers themselves would cultivate fields and build and repair housing and schools in their spare time). No state appropriations for housing construction or social and cultural needs. This principle of "combining city and countryside, industry and agriculture" was called the ideal way to erase the distinction between the working class and the peasantry.

How can you explain the revival of the principle today, in the 11th year of a reform which proposed a different reading of socialism from the one that was championed in Mao's time? When the priority is not just revolutionary enthusiasm, but competence, when an ossified economic system is being destroyed, a commodity economy is developing, and there is a growing stake in the results of labor.

Different observers offer their own explanations of the situation. Some felt that that it was brought about by the need to boost the prestige of heavy industry, above all the raw material sectors and the power industry, which are lagging hopelessly behind processing industry, which has taken off. This is creating serious imbalances in the national economy. There are also those who believe that the rapid pace of urbanization in China creates its own problems and demands original solutions to the food problem (why not have a close look at the Daqing experience?).

In my view, there are three reasons for the revival of the old slogan: "Industry must learn from Daqing."

The first reason is an ideological one. According to a number of officials, the mass campaign to revive the "Daqing spirit" is needed in order to overcome the effect of the serious mistakes by Zhao Ziyang, former general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, with whose name many errors of policy are now being associated. In particular, it is believed that despite interference on the part of some leaders, the Daqing workers always regarded ideological work as a priority. (Zhao Ziyang is now being accused of having underestimated this sphere of activity). As the newspaper CHINA DAILY wrote, the "spirit of Daqing" will be propagandized not only in the oil industry. It is a signal to all the country's workers: Do not forget the importance of ideological work.

The second reason is educational. It is necessary to revive the traditions of older generations who knew how to work hard, were modest, and were easily satisfied. This is what the country's leadership believes. Only as a result of selfless-patriotic labor by several generations is it possible to attain the strategic goal of completing the country's modernization and reaching the level of average-developed countries. There is a tactical task as well. In conditions of severe inflation, dwindling foreign currency reserves, and unclear prospects of cooperation with the developed countries of the West (moreover, international credits have to be settled next year) it is necessary to be economical and more self-reliant.

The third reason is economic. Recently Chinese party and government leaders have been constantly stressing that in conditions of limited resources the state sector must have a clear advantage over the individual and private sector. The plan to improve the econmomy, which is to cover the next 3 years, sets the task of promoting large and medium-size state sector enterprises, which will account for three-fourths of gross industrial output. The process of privatization of markets and of the means of production, as a result of which state and private enterprises had equal access to some raw materials and other supplies, has slowed. The government proposed most-favored status for state enterprise, in particular in order to reduce their losses, which increased by 25 percent in the first half of this year compared with the same period last year. Every year the government spends billions of yuan subsidizing loss-making enterprises.

These are the reasons, but, of course, one cannot say that the slogan of the sixties is being slavishly followed. Different times—different priorities.

Problems in PRC Anticorruption Drive Noted

PM1810140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent V. Tomilin dispatch under the rubric "Socialist Countries" and the general heading "This Is Being Talked About": "Bribe-Takers' Confessions"]

[Text] Beijing, 13 Oct—"These thousands are bribes received during worktime. Since I first put dirty money in my pocket, feelings of guilt have been pursuing me. And I feel that I stand in debt to the country and the people. I am sending you the money to wash away the dirt..."

This written confession, accompanied by a check for 3,000 yuan, which arrived in the Tianjin center for the investigation of statements which expose corruption, was signed: "Zhang Zhijie." As it quickly turned out, the name of the official with the stricken conscience was made up. Nevertheless, the Chinese press still cited it in

its pages. It seems that our Chinese journalist colleagues were quite right: Every case that testifies to even the smallest victory over corruption, restores the faith of the people and kicks a small piece of ground from under the feet of a great social evil.

The name Zhang Zhijie can be regarded with full justification as generic, as this problem is so characteristic of today's newspapers, television and radio broadcasts, and conversations in various lecture halls. Faint notes of hope for real changes in restraining moral degradation have recently come creeping increasingly clearly into the differences of opinion in the discussion of this "burning issue." This was made possible particularly by the significant activization in the anticorruption campaign. The country's leadership is aware of its significance, naming corruption as one of the main internal causes for the well-known events of spring and summer of this year.

The PRC Supreme Court and the Prosecutor's Office took an unprecedented step, announcing the latest date (31 October) for bribe-takers to present confessions, which would mean that they could expect leniency, including a repeal of the death sentence. The network of territorial or departmental centers for fighting corruption has been significantly extended. According to Sui Jiangzhong, the chief of one of them (at the PRC Ministry of Control), the examination of statements from citizens regarding embezzlement, bribe-taking, and blackmail committed by workers in government organs, comes within the scope of these centers. All energetic citizens as well as foreigners who find out about corruption can report to the center. Complaints can be made in any form: by telephone, letter, or in person.

The main task of the centers is to involve the broadest strata of the population in the anticorruption campaign. However, it would be naive to liken it to shooting in a well-lit shooting range at fixed targets (one shot, and a tin bribe-taker comes somersaulting down). It is not by chance that a considerable number of the statements are anonymous: People are afraid of revenge. As a result, examining the notifications becomes much more complex, and the suspicion arises: "Is this just slander?" A typical example can be found in the activity of the same Tianjin center. An anonymous letter put the center on the trail of a large-scale financial intrigue. It involved hundreds of thousands of yuan. The city's newspaper announced a reward for the author of the letter: 30,000 yuan—a huge sum of money. And even so, the author of the letter did not respond. The people's fears cannot be called groundless, the press admits. Cases are known of chiefs being angered by excessive civic activity on the part of their subordinates and transferring them to the most unpleasant work. Not so long ago one worker who went to the anticorruption center was shot...

"We do not protect those who do not sign their letters," the newspaper WEN HUI BAO writes. However, the only way of stemming the flow of such letters is to provide for the legal interests of those who write them, and keep them strictly secret. The newspaper is citing the better anticorruption centers as an example: They never send the complaints to the organizations and people concerned, and the center's employees only use extracts copied from the letters, keeping the originals in safes. Let fear persecute only those who have a bad conscience, another newspaper, CHINA DAILY, continues the subject, citing another Zhang Zhijie who presented a confession, and who had made a fortune by speculating in televisions and refrigerators: "I felt as though ants were crawling all over my body when I took the money. A police car only had to drive past with its siren on, and I would be dying of fright.

Northeast Asia

Japanese Premier on Dialogue With USSR

90UI0010A Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 3 Oct 89 p 3

[TASS report from Tokyo datelined 2 October: "Japanese Prime Minister Favors Dialogue With USSR"]

[Text] The prime minister of Japan, Toshiki Kaifu, has come out in favor of continuing a dialogue with the Soviet Union. While making a program speech in the lower chamber of parliament he stated that his government will persistently stay the course for establishing stable relations with the USSR and will strive to sign a peace treaty between the two countries. However, T. Kaifu tied it once again to resolving the so-called "northern territories issue," as they call here a part of the Soviet Kurile Islands which the Government of Japan is claiming.

In the course of his first address to the deputies of parliament after assuming the post of prime minister, T. Kaifu said: "At present the world is on the threshold of tremendous changes. Particularly noteworthy events are underway in the socialist countries where the processes of perestroyka, glasnost, and democratization are unfolding, where a reform policy is being pursued." He stressed that a dialogue with the socialist countries is becoming increasingly important in order to affirm these tendencies and build more stable relations between East and West.

Meeting on Soviet-Japanese Cooperation

90UI0043A Moscow TRUD in Russian 11 Oct 89 p 3

[S. Bunin report: "Contacts With Neighbors"]

[Text] Tokyo 10 October—The fourth Far East meeting of the Soviet and Japanese public taking place in Sapporo culminated in the adoption of a final document that outlines the main directions for cooperation between the maritime region of the USSR and the island of Hokkaido.

A Soviet ship that dropped anchor a week ago in the port of Otaru delivered more than 200 emissaries to this

northern Japanese island, along with representatives of the local authorities and the trade unions, and foreign trade and industrial associations from the oblasts and regions of the Far East and East Siberia. Our delegation was led by chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers A.V. Vlasov. At the meeting a representative delegation from Hokkaido led by Governor T. Yokomichi spoke on behalf of the receiving side. Hokkaido has traditionally maintained close links with the Soviet maritime area at the level of municipalities, friendship societies, agricultural cooperatives and business circles, and political parties and trade unions.

During the 4 days of meetings there was full discussion on various aspects of interregional cooperation. The work of the second commission, which studied prospects for trade union links, was fruitful. In a document adopted at the meeting it is noted that the sides have agreed to make "every effort in the sphere of their own competence to protect the interests of the workers, preserve peace in the world, and resolve common human problems such as environmental protection." An agreement was reached to study questions of setting up a coordinating council for the trade unions of the Soviet Far East and East Siberia to maintain and develop friendly links with the trade unions on the island of Hokkaido.

Japanese Paper's 'Unseemly' Editorial Refuted

LD1710165989 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Japanese Claims Throw Little Weight—TASS comment"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS—By TASS political analyst Askold Biryukov:

The Japanese newspaper SANKEI SHIMBUN published an editorial article today attempting to cast doubt on the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

Noting that the international situation improved after Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, the newspaper alludes to "reports on Soviet actions" which allegedly "run counter" to world developments and "call in question the new thinking" in dealing with regional conflicts.

The newspaper recalls, among other things, that the Soviet Union continues to aid Afghanistan after the withdrawal of its troops from that country. But it is known that this aid has always been rendered on the basis of bilateral Soviet-Afghan agreements.

Moreover, the Soviet Union has long been urging the other parties to the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan to stop arms deliveries to the belligerent sides and simultaneously to impose a ceasefire under strict international control. It is not the fault of the Soviet Union that its calls are not heeded by the other parties. They continue to deliver large quantities of arms to extremist Afghan groupings.

The SANKEI SHIMBUN claims further that the "East" is allegedly "continuing its aid to Nicaragua via Cuba" but the newspaper should check its facts. Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze informed the Americans at the Wyoming talks about the decision, taken with the consent of Nicaraguan leaders, to stop arms deliveries to that country. Such deliveries were stopped. The action was positively received by Washington. And during Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Cuba, the Cuban leadership joined this stand.

The newspaper also speaks of "sharply increased" Soviet aid to the Government of Cambodia. It pretends not to know that the USSR has provided that country with military aid for several years, in accordance with an agreement between the two sides. These deliveries have become routine.

It is known, moreover, that the USSR is prepared to negotiate with all the parties concerned a halt on military deliveries to all the Cambodian sides. However, in this case, as in Afghanistan, its readiness is not shared by the other parties concerned. There are reports of recent deliveries of large quantities of American arms to anti-government Khmer groupings as well as reports on American and British training of Khmer opposition forces.

The purpose of the Japanese editorial is quite unseemly—to cast doubts on the clear-cut policy of the Soviet Union. The USSR has consistently called for the comprehensive political settlement of regional conflicts on the basis of national reconciliation.

The article also reads like second-hand goods. It does not express its own views, but reiterates the pronouncements of those who do not want an early settlement of conflicts that worsen the international climate.

Japan-U.S. Security Talks Criticized

OW1810055889 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] The Japan-U.S. working-level talks on security affairs concluded in Tokyo on 15 October. In this connection, Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev writes as follows:

To judge from the outcome of the talks, it appears that both the United States and Japan have no intention of revising their military policies in the near future in line with the changes taking place in the international situation. This is clear also from the fact that the participants in the talks emphatically reiterated the usual remarks about a Soviet military threat. The allegation of a Soviet military threat has been the theoretical justification for

the western camp's military buildup against the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, since the cold war days.

Times are changing, but the change of times has not been reflected in the thinking of some circles. The military strength of the Soviet forces in the Far East will be reduced by some 120,000 men by 1991. From this area, 12 divisions of the Far East [word indistinct] army will be subject to reduction, 19 Air Force units will be dissolved, and 16 war vessels will be removed from the Pacific Fleet.

In the Japan-U.S. working-level security talks in Tokyo, U.S. Pacific Fleet Commander Admiral Hardisty insisted that even if the Soviet Union cut back on its strength, the Soviet military threat would not diminish. What then is the basis for their claim of the existence of a Soviet military threat? Assistant to the U.S. Secretary of Defense [word indistinct] cites the modernization of the Soviet Armed Forces. This, in fact, appears to be the only basis for their claim of a Soviet threat.

Let us return now to the original subject, leaving aside the talk about the scale of the ongoing Soviet forces' modernization effort. I would like to ask: Can modernization itself be considered as constituting a threat? Modernization is nothing but adapting armed forces to the changing times. The armed forces' adaptation to the changing times means the possibility of reducing military costs and military personnel, while maintaining capabilities to perform their tasks under the new military doctrines of the Soviet Union.

The new military doctrines of the Soviet Union, meanwhile, are completely defense-oriented. In the Soviet Armed Forces, while unilateral reductions of strength are being carried out, structural changes are taking place geared to defensive—not offensive—operations. Viewed from this standpoint, it can be said that the reductions are also a part of modernization.

As you may see from what I have said so far, the Soviet Union seeks to improve the efficiency of its Armed Forces in executing their defensive functions. When Admiral Hardisty said that the Soviet threat was continuing, he probably had in his mind the Soviet effort to improve the Armed Forces' efficiency.

Certainly, the Soviet Union is in no way thinking about weakening its national defense capabilities while proceeding with unilateral reductions. In fact, considering the power balance in the Far East, the Soviet Union cannot be off its guard. The armed forces of Japan and the United States in the Far East boast of having twice as many troops as the Soviet forces, and the the number of naval vessels of the two countries is four times that of the Soviet Union. They have so many cruise missile-carrying vessels that those of the Soviet Union cannot even be compared to them. The number of their attack airplanes is more than double that of Soviet aircraft.

To be sure, the Soviet Union remains superior to the United States in the number of tanks, armored personnel carriers, and artillery guns. But they are not useful in the Asia-Pacific region. There is no question that the United States has the advantage in the region. The fact, however, is that regardless of what the Soviet forces actually are, they are criticized as being a threat. The U.S. forces' Pacex 89 exercise, which is of the largest scale ever, is being taken for granted.

However, the talks in Tokyo took note of the activities of the Soviet fleet, which remained in the vicinity of its mother port. Such logic on the part of the Tokyo talks participants is one that ignores the actual truth. Such logic cannot serve as a foundation for constructive dialogue to strengthen security in the Asia-Pacific region. The remarks of the participants of the talks were such that they cast doubt on their willigness for constructive dialogue.

At issue are not only those remarks related to the Soviet threat. The thinking of Japan and the United States has to do with the idea of linking the strengthening of security to the expansion of military assistance under the Japan-U.S. alliance. This in turn is linked to the two countries' concept of continuing with the strategy of confronting the Soviet Union.

The United States has requested that Japan bear an increased share of the costs for maintaining U.S. bases in Japan. The two countries have also agreed to push ahead with joint research in order to further consolidate their military ties. They also talked about the need to improve the the Self-Defense Forces' capabilities to carry out, combat, and endure a prolonged war. The representatives of the United States and Japan apparently believe that they need only military—and no political—measures to strengthen security in the Far East.

Primakov Joins Japan's International House

LD1810224989 Moscow TASS in English 2108 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Zharkov:

President of Japan's International House Michio Nagai, former education minister of Japan, handed today a certificate of long-life membership of that organization to Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet and alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

During the conversation, which ended in the pleasant surprise, the two parties highly praised the important role of people's diplomacy in strengthening international relations.

Speaking about Soviet-Japanese bilateral relations, Primakov stressed that "there is every reason to hope for their fruitful comprehensive development."

He pointed out that the forthcoming visit of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to the country of the rising sun was of paramount improtance in this context.

The Japanese political and business communities are viewing Soviet perestroyka with great sympathy, Mitio Nagi noted. He stressed that "its success is directly linked with the success of peace."

Near East & South Asia

Israel's Peres Urges 'Better' Soviet Mideast Role

PM1810113989 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 42, 15 Oct 89 p 1

[Interview in Washington with Shim'on Peres, Israeli deputy prime minister and minister of finance, by Vladimir Brodetskiy under the rubric "MN Exclusive": "Shim'on Peres to Visit Moscow"; date not given]

[Text] Washington-Philadelphia-Moscow—The last issue of MN [MOSCOW NEWS] carried an article with this headline plus a question mark. However, there's no longer any need for the question mark.

Maj. Gen. Shlomo Gazit, chief of Israel's military intelligence for the last 20 years, kept his promise to an MN correspondent at an unofficial party near Washington, D.C., and arranged the interview with Mr Peres. On the following day, bodyguards of Shim'on Peres, leader of the Israel Labour Party, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, thoroughly checked the contents of my reporter's bag on the 11th floor of Washington's Madison Hotel. My tape recorder was set going. We knew that Shim'on Peres would come to Moscow in late October, as the guest of the Soviet Peace Committee.

MN: We believe that you are going to discuss the role the USSR can play in solving the conflict in the Middle East. What is your opinion about this:

S.P.: The Soviet Union could and should become engaged in the dialogue. The only role a superpower should play is bringing peace to the Middle East. I fully agree with the assumption that, as President Gorbachev said, the purpose of modern diplomacy is to demilitarize foreign relations. So that the Soviet Union should help demilitarize foreign relations in the Middle East.

MN: We constantly hear that Israel demands guarantees of its security included in any solution to the conflict.

S.P.: I think that peace is the best guarantee, and if we have peace, we won't need guarantees. I believe that generally the world is becoming a post-belligerent globe. I think that in the future there will be fewer wars and more cooperation, and global decisions will be taken in laboratories rather than in military camps.

MN: What's your opinion of the issue of the possibility of the restoration of Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations:

S.P.: I think that these relations are being constructed rather than restored. We now have some cultural relations. We are beginning to build economic relations. I believe that diplomatic relations will follow. How soon? If it really depended on Israel, then tomorrow morning. But it's your decision rather than ours, it's the USSR's decision. I think that the Soviet Union can play a much better peace-making role in the Middle East if it has relations with all the parties concerned. It is a mistake on the part of the Soviet Union to stand just on one leg, instead of on two, in that region.

MN: What's the attitude towards the current developments in the Soviet Union on the part of ordinary Israelis and officials in Tel Aviv:

S.P.: We pray, all of us, that perestroyka and glasnost will succeed. We wish you success, and the bells of Jerusalem are ringing for the success of this new policy. Russia is entitled to be a very great nation with great people, to be able to come to terms with itself and to make necessary changes in its economy, to open the ranks of its politics [as published]. It is a promise for humanity, which means to each of us, not only to the Russian people, and we would really like to see its success.

MN: What are the main issues you are going to address in Moscow?

S.P.: I think that we shall devote part of the time to economic relations, barter trade, joint ventures, international relations and, if we have time and the opportunity, we shall discuss the peace momentum in the Middle East.

El Al, Aeroflot Agree on Moscow-Tel Aviv Flights

TA1810162189 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1600 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] El Al and Aeroflot, the official USSR aviation company, have signed an agreement for the establishment of routine Moscow-Tel Aviv flights. Our correspondent Menahem Friedman reports that the agreement was signed this afternoon in Moscow.

El Al Director General Refa'el Harlev has said that the flights, which will leave once a week, will be on the basis of reciprocity. The first El Al plane will leave for Moscow at the beginning of 1990.

Vorontsov, Iranian Envoy Discuss Ties

LD1810203189 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—Soviet first deputy foreign minister Yuliy Vorontsov received today the Iranian ambassador to Moscow, Naser Heirani-Nobari.

The ambassador handed over a personal message from Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati to his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze.

Vorontsov and Nobari discussed specific issues of Soviet-Iranian interaction and international issues of mutual interest.

Lukyanov Receives Iraqi Ambassador's Credentials

PM1710115489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Presentation of Credentials"]

[Text] On 13 October Q.J. Husayn, Iraqi ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, presented his credentials to A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, in the Kremlin.

Q.J. Husayn stressed that our two countries are linked by relations of friendship that have grown strong over many years, in the course of which the Soviet Union gave Iraq sincere support in the resolution of national tasks. He confirmed Iraq's unchanging desire to widen the scale of long-term cooperation with the USSR in all spheres.

Accepting the ambassador's credentials on behalf of the Presidium and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, A.I. Lukyanov noted that the Soviet Union and Iraq have indeed accumulated considerable experience of mutually advantageous and equal cooperation. An active political dialogue is under way and coordination of actions has been established in the resolution of key international issues. All this forms a basis for developing and improving collaboration between the two countries and enriching its forms and content.

In the friendly talk that took place after the presentation of credentials it was stressed that the 1972 Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation is a vitally important and decisive element in Soviet-Iraqi relations. The established practice of constant exchange of opinions between our countries' highest leaders makes it possible to define strategic guidelines for the future and keep to the correct course.

Touching on the Iran-Iraq settlement, A.I. Lukyanov came out in favor of resolutely accelerating it on the basis of political realism and flexibility on both sides, in order to find mutually acceptable radical political solutions to the problems that exist. This would lay firm foundations for future peaceful development for Iraq and Iran and the entire Persian Gulf region.

Normalization of Egypt-Libya Relations Praised

LD1810205289 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Commentary by Aleksiy Zlatorunskiy]

[Text] The Egyptian-Libyan summit, whose first half was held in Egypt and the second in Libya, has ended. The news from Cairo and Tripoli report that President Husni Mubarak and Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi discussed the situation of and the horizons for normalizing the bilateral relations, which were severed several years ago. They discussed in detail the issues facing the Arab world today. They decided to open an Egyptian bureau in Tripoli and a Libyan one in Cairo and to carry out regular Egyptian-Libyan contacts and meetings in order to widen the base of cooperation.

Egyptian Information Minister Safwat al-Sharif said that joint Egyptian-Libyan companies will very soon be established for petrochemicals, fishing, and constructing dams. The issue of joint exploitation of ground water will be studied.

Egyptian President Husni Mubarak addressed journalists after the end of his talks with Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi and described them as excellent, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi also expressed his full satisfaction with the results of the talks.

It is clear for every unbiased political observer that the meeting of the leaders of the two neighboring Arab countries and the agreement to normalize the relations between them are an important step toward consolidating the unity of the Arab countries.

For more than 1 and ½ decades, no diplomatic relations existed between Egypt and Libya; on the contrary, there were hostilities which became at the worst times armed clashes. The result was that the peoples of the two countries suffered and the general front of the Arab countries was weakened in its efforts to reach a just political settlement for the Middle East conflict. This also provided the forces, hostile to the Arabs, with an opportunity to exploit the Egyptian-Libyan contradictions for their dishonest and unhappy aims.

It is not surprising that the Egyptian-Libyan summit has led to extreme resentment in Israel, and even in other countries. Some of the news published in the United States considered Husni Mubarak's decision to confer and talk to Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi about the normalization of the relations between the two countries and to draw up joint stances toward solutions to the Middle East problem and the situation in Lebanon as a deviation by Egypt from the traditions and well-established policies of Washington.

In this case, I think that the issue here is not the contradictions with the Egyptian-U.S. relations. The U.S. Administration, during the past years, exerted a great effort to isolate Libya from the rest of the world. For this purpose, the U.S. Administration adopted and implemented economic sanctions and political blackmail. That is why, every time Libya takes a step toward consolidating its international status, Washington gets upset.

In the Soviet Union, the meeting between Husni Mubarak and Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi was considered as an extremely positive matter which is compatible with the principles of the new political thinking. This was announced by an official Soviet Foreign Ministry

spokesmen. The Soviet Union has traditionally had amicable relations with both Egypt and Libya. Naturally, rapprochement between these two countries gives new opportunities for developing the Soviet-Libyan and Soviet-Egyptian cooperation in all fields. In addition to this, consolidating Arab unity is very important in solving all the issues in the Middle East: the Palestinian issue, the Middle East conflict in general, and the normalization of the situation in Lebanon. It is after all the key to solving many economic and social problems faced by the Arab countries.

U.S. Support for Afghan Opposition Condemned

90UI0045A Moscow TRUD in Russian
13 Oct 89 p 3

[Report by V. Cherepakhin: "Sabateurs of Afghan Regulation"]

[Text] Recently, continuing to violate the Geneva agreements in the grossest way, Pakistan and the United States have considerably expanded the scale of their intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

In more than 160 instruction and training centers and points on the territory of Pakistan under the leadership of Pakistani military instructors, the United States and Saudi Arabia are simultaneously conducting active training of 15,000-20,000 insurgents. There is an agreement between the leadership of the Pakistani interdepartmental intelligence and the leaders of the "irreconcilable" opposition concerning the preparation of a "nucleus of regular troops" for the counterrevolution directly in the training centers of the Pakistani Army.

Upon the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan the flow of arms through the territory of Pakistan for the mujahidin increased and their armed formations have recently grown to 200,000 men. Just during the first 3-4 months after the departure of the Soviet subdivisions the armed opposition received from Pakistani and American protectors 500 field artillery units and machine guns, 250-270 mountain antiaircraft guns, almost 400 field rocket launchers, 300 recoilless weapons, and tens of thousands of projectiles and mines. Military cargoes are being delivered on S-141 and S-130 aircraft from the United States and Saudi Arabia to the large transshipment base in the region of the city of Rawalpindi. During the past half year the deliveries of arms for the mujahidin through the Pakistan port of Karachi has increased threefold.

In violation of the Geneva agreements the Pakistani authorities have given their blessing not only to the "shuras" of the Afghan opposition being held on their territory but also have assisted in the formation of the so-called "transition government of Afghanistan" from leaders of the seven-party alliance of mujahidin. Incidentally, Washington, although it has refrained from official recognition of this "government," has sent its special representative Peter Tomsen.

The "transition government of the mujahidin," which is based in the Pakistan city of Peshawar, is declaring its intention to bring the war with Kabul "to a victorious end." As the facts show, Pakistan and the United States are orienting their "wards" toward this. U.S. President G. Bush on 13 February of this year signed a "Directive in the Area of National Security" which prescribes that the corresponding American departments render military and financial aid to the Afghan rebels until such time as the existing government in Kabul is overthrown. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, Pakistani intelligence will be used actively as a channel for transferring this aid. Last year alone mujahid formations received 799 million dollars from across the ocean through this channel. An equally large sum is planned as aid for this year.

Pakistani and American spreaders of disinformation are saying that the Kabul government is "on its last leg" and the irreconcilable opposition controls up to 80 percent of the territory of Afghanistan. But in fact only 5 of the 31 provincial centers of the republic are under the control of the opposition. For a long time Pakistani and American intelligence has "fed" the irreconcilable opposition information to the effect that the government troops of Afghanistan will be routed and they will flee in a couple of days, as soon as the last Soviet soldier leaves the republic. In order to achieve this goal the armed formations of the mujahidin were reinforced with American advisers, subdivisions of the Pakistan Army, and mercenaries from Saudi Arabia. According to data from the foreign press about 3,500 foreigners are participating on the side of the rebels in their battles with government troops.

But in spite of the all-around support from their Pakistani and American protectors, the mujahidin are not able to boast about military successes. Their formations are sustaining heavy losses in battles near Jalalabad, Khowst, Qandahar, and Gardez, which leads to demoralizing the opposition and splitting it up into hostile groupings.

High-ranking military and political figures of the United States and Pakistan are more and more frequently being enlisted in the planning of offensive operations on the peaceful cities of Afghanistan. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, the commander of the Centcom, U.S. Army General Schwarzkopf, recently held a meeting on Pakistan territory with the commander of the armed formations of the mujahidin, and Pakistani Minister of Foreign Affairs Yaqub Khan met with the leadership of the "transition government."

At the same time, during B. Bhutto's visit to the United States, this country's congress adopted a resolution to increase the military assistance to Pakistan itself as well, the amount of which is estimated at 241 million dollars for this year. Here priority is given to the kinds of arms the mujahidin need.

The tactical maneuvers of Pakistan and the United States around the Afghan problem and the sabotage of the Geneva agreements show that certain circles in these countries still cherish the hope of putting a government obedient to them in power in the republic. Therefore, they remain deaf to the all- embracing proposals of the government of the Republic of Afghanistan directed toward establishing peace and quiet in the country and toward the creation of a coalition government on the broadest possible basis. As of today they have no realistic plans for fulfilling the Geneva agreements or contributing to real national reconciliation in this country, which would transform Afghanistan into a peaceful nonaligned state living in friendship with all its neighbors.

East Europe

Shevardnadze To Visit Poland 24-25 Oct

LD1810153489 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will visit Poland on October 24-25, 1989 at the invitation of the Polish Government.

PZPR Delegation Arrives in Vilnius on Visit

LD1810225789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1636 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Vilnius, 18 Oct (TASS)—A delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] Central Committee, led by Wlodzimierz Natorf, PZPR Central Committee secretary, arrived today in the capital of Soviet Lithuania, Vilnius, at the invitation of the Lithuanian Communist Party [CP] Central Committee. The delegation comprises Janusz Basiak, member of the PZPR Central Committee, head of the Central Committee socioeconomic department; Marek Bartosik, member of the PZPR Central Committee, deputy chairman of a Sejm commission; Wladislaw Markiewicz, vice president of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Waldemar Berdyga, first secretary of the Suwalki PZPR Voidvodship Committee, and Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski, Polish People's Republic consul general in Minsk.

On the Soviet-Polish border the delegation was met by Algirdas Brazauskas. He acquainted the visitors with the socio-political situation and specific features of the current situation in the republic, and with concrete measures being taken for the renewal of the Lithuanian CP.

Wlodzimierz Natorf, head of the PZPR Central Committee delegation, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, expressed thanks for the opportunity to become acquainted with the activities of the Lithuanian CP under perestroyka and described the process of socialist renascence and democratization of society in Poland.

Much attention in the discussion was devoted to issues connected with the implementation of the collaboration program between the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and the PZPR Central Committee signed in Warsaw this summer.

The delegation went sight-seeing in the Lithuanian capital. In the evening the delegation held a news conference.

Polish Foreign Minister's Remarks Assailed

PM1810131789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Poland: Stormy Debates in the Sejm"]

[Text] Following a stormy debate marked by great polarization of opinions, the Sejm adopted Monday [16 October] draft amendments to the law on earnings indexation, which affects the interests of millions of ordinary Poles.

The indexation principle envisages automatically increasing workers' material remuneration proportionately with the prices index, the intention being to cushion the effects of growing inflation and price hikes.

The draft, which was adopted by a majority of votes, envisages paying funds in respect of indexation only if wage raises at enterprises do not outstrip the rise in retail prices. Furthermore, enterprises will pay large fines to the exchequer in respect of any above-normative payments of material remuneration in excess of the limit set by the government.

Government spokesmen made no secret of the fact that this indexation model is designed primarily to balance the state budget, whose deficit is already running at almost Z5 trillion and that working people should not expect any higher living standards in the immediate future. Jozef Lochnowski, Poland's deputy minister of industry, admitted in the Sejm that over 90 percent of state enterprise workers do not receive a single zloty by way of compensation.

Poland's Foreign Minister K. Skubiszewski, who delivered the official clarification, claimed that the process of postwar compensation payments to Poland by Germany was supposedly "very disadvantageous from the very beginning," since the Soviet Union pledged to meet Poland's compensation demands from its own share of reparations. In his words, this solution to the problem was highly disadvantageous for Poland since it deprived it of the opportunity to submit its own claims against Germany, which was occupied by the allies at that time.

The minister raised doubts as to whether Poland had received its due share of reparations. The amounts, K. Skubiszewski declared, "ought to be reduced by the value of Polish coal delivered at that time to the USSR at prices which were only one-tenth of world prices." At the same time, the minister totally ignored the numerous occasions when the Soviet Union gave Poland all-around aid during the 45 years the Polish People's Republic has been in existence. And primarily during the postwar

period, which was the hardest for the country and when a sizable proportion of Soviet aid was free.

K. Skubiszewski backed the speech by "Solidarity" Deputy W. Kowalski, who demanded material compensation from the USSR for Poles who "suffered from the Stalinist system" during the war. He gave assurances that the government would be taking steps in this direction. The minister described the reunification of West Ukraine and West Belorussia as "occupation of Poland's eastern voivodships," thus equating the USSR's actions at that time with fascist Germany's aggression against Poland.

Krenz Elected GDR Party General Secretary

LD1810140389 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin October 18 TASS—The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany which gathered in Berlin this afternoon for its ninth plenary meeting, elected Egon Krenz general secretary, ADN News Agency reported.

Socialist Unity Party Leadership Changes Reported

PM1910112189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Plenum Held"]

[Text] Berlin, 18 Oct—The Ninth Plenum of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee was held here today.

The plenum was addressed by E. Honecker, who asked to be relieved of his duties as general secretary of the SED Central Committee, member of the Politburo, chairman of the GDR State Council, and chairman of the GDR National Defense Council on health grounds. The plenum complied with this request, rating highly E. Honecker's many years of work for the benefit of the party and the republic and expressing cordial gratitude to him.

At the proposal of the Politburo, the plenum unanimously elected Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, as general secretary of the SED Central Committee.

The SED Central Committee plenum proposed to the GDR People's Chamber that it elect E. Krenz as chairman of the GDR State Council and chairman of the GDR National Defense Council.

J. Herrmann and G. Mittag were relieved of their duties as members of the Politburo and secretaries of the SED Central Committee.

The Central Committee proposed to the GDR People's Chamber that it recall G. Mittag from the post of deputy chairman of the GDR State Council.

E. Krenz delivered a speech on topical questions of the political situation and the party's tasks.

The Central Committee instructed E. Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, to address this speech to GDR citizens over the radio and television.

Krenz Speech on Socialism, Perestroyka Noted

LD1810231889 Moscow TASS in English 2303 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin October 19 TASS—There would have been no German Democratic Republic but for the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG). The reference to this indisputable fact by no means belittles the contribution of allied and friendly public forces to the emergence and growth of socialism in the German Democratic Republic.

This was stated by General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee Egon Krenz. He was speaking on Wednesday at the plenum of the SUPG Central Committee in Berlin.

"Our republic," he stressed, "is and will remain in future a result of joint effort of all classes and social strata under the leadership of our party."

Over the past months we have failed to assess realistically enough the social development in our country, to understand its trend and draw timely and correct conclusions, Krenz said.

As from today's plenum we shall begin a turn, including above all a new political and ideological offensive. The decisive source of our strength lies in the party's collective leadership at every level, Krenz pointed out.

Speaking about relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union, the general secretary stressed the vital importance to the Socialist Unity Party of the fraternal union with the Soviet Communist Party.

"We have always viewed perestroika in the Soviet Union as an inevitable process," he said. The process was courageously begun by the Soviet Communist Party led by Mikhail Gorbachev.

The process of this kind cannot but involve some side-effects which are of great concern for many people.

But this concern is an expression of our profound intrinsic unity with the Soviet Union and our confidence that the future of socialism depends on the success of perestroika in the USSR, Egon Krenz stressed.

Gorbachev Sends Congratulatory Message to Krenz

PM1910112389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 19 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] To Comrade Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee

Dear Comrade Egon, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and myself, personally, I heartily congratulate you on your election as the general secretary of the SED Central Committee. I am confident that the SED leadership collective, led by you, and the GDR's Communists, responding keenly to the demands of time, following the course of rejuvenation and continuity, and being supported by the working people and all the strata of the republic's population, will find solutions, which are so much needed and in line with the GDR's conditions, to the difficult issues the GDR is facing.

The soviet Communists highly evaluate fraternal ties with the SED. People of our country are aware of the importance of interaction between the Soviet Union and the GDR for the stability of the situation in Europe and for the cause of socialism and peace.

I sincerely wish you success.
M. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

PRAVDA Publishes Biographic Profile of Krenz

PM1910112589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed profile: "Egon Krenz, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee"]

[Text] Egon Krenz was born into a worker's family 19 March 1937. In 1953 he joined the Free German Youth [FDJ]. He has been a member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] since 1955.

After leaving school he studied at the Pedagogical Institute and served in the GDR National People's Army. He graduated from the CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School.

From 1959 onward he worked in elective posts of the FDJ as district committee secretary, first secretary of the Rostock Bezirk Committee, secretary of the FDJ Central Council, and head of the Pioneer organization named for E. Thaelmann. From 1974 through 1983 he was first secretary of the FDJ Central Committee.

In 1971 he became a candidate member, and in 1973 a full member, of the SED Central Committee. In 1976 he became a candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo. And since November 1983 he has been a member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Since 1971 he has been a deputy of the GDR People's Chamber.

In 1981 he was elected member of the GDR State Council and in 1984 its deputy chairman.

E. Krenz has been awarded the Soviet Order of the Friendship of Peoples. He has visited the Soviet Union several times as a member of youth and party delegations.

At the SED Central Committee Plenum on 18 October 1989 he was elected general secretary of the SED Central Committee.

SED Leaders Talk to Collectives About Problems

PM1910114589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 89 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent M. Podklyuchnikov dispatch: "GDR: Speaking About Painful Issues. Leaders Hold Meeting With Labor Collectives"]

[Text] Berlin, 18 Oct—Members and candidate members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo, first secretaries of bezirk party committees, and ministers recently visited major enterprises in Berlin, Magdeburg, Erfurt, and other cities along with agricultural production cooperatives.

They had conversations with working people everywhere about painful issues and pressing problems in need of solution. Workers, engineers, and economic, party, and trade union workers noted that in recent years the party's words have been at variance with its actions and this has brought about a decline in its prestige. Unwarranted complacency has appeared and insufficient consideration has been given to working people's opinions.

"An enemy cannot find a foothold anywhere that we ourselves reveal the reasons for weakness, omissions, and shortcomings," Wolfgang Schneidewind, party group organizer, said at Berlin's "Fernsehelektronik" plant. "We want good socialism rather than capitalism with its voracious laws," foreman Hannelore Starke said at a chemical fiber combine in Schwarz. "But we must live in an atmosphere of truth and seek ways to resolve the questions that have accumulated."

In the course of conversations at enterprises working people said that they expect self-critical assessment and clear conclusions from the impending SED Central Committee Plenum.

The press reported Monday's demonstration in Leipzig which followed a service in five city churches. More than 100,000 of the city's inhabitants took part in it along with inhabitants from the surrounding areas and neighboring bezirks.

In many respects, reports published in today's central newspapers say, the demonstration was not unusual. A

prayer for peace was said in the churches and an appeal for nonviolence was made to conclude the divine service.

The dialogue that began in the churches continued on the street—between believers and nonbelievers, old and young, people of different social strata and outlook. They were brought together this time by a common desire to understand what has to be done to ensure that socialism on German soil, whose social gains are undoubted, gains a "second wind."

However, there were also people among the demonstrators who have lost faith and become embittered. Hostile yells were frequently heard among the crowd. These people were not convinced by the words of Juergen Pommert, secretary of the SED bezirk committee, who said that the party is interested in frank and honest dialogue and in a joint quest for the most effective means of development, a JUNGE WELT correspondent who was an eyewitness to the events noted.

Nonetheless, despite the inevitable problems in such cases, the unauthorized demonstration took place in a marvelously orderly fashion and there was no need for the law-enforcement bodies to interfere.

The first trial in the case of the hooligans who inflicted considerable material damage—estimated at M175,000—on Dresden's main station has been held in Dresden. The FRG mass media reported 4 October that trains carrying former GDR citizens from Prague to the GDR would pass through Dresden. A large crowd gathered in the square in front of the station and many people reckoned that they would also be able to leave on these trains. When it became obvious that such plans were not destined to be realized, hooligan elements "stormed" the station. The closed entrance doors were smashed down, ticket machines and signs were destroyed, and a "Mitropa" buffet kiosk was looted. Automobiles in the square in front of the station were overturned and set alight and the paving was smashed up.

The case of three people who committed acts of vandalism has been heard in court. Two of these people are well known for their antisocial way of life—one is an alcoholic, the other has already appeared in court 12 times for theft and parasitism. The criminals received their just desserts.

West Europe

Further on Visit by FRG's Willy Brandt

Gorbachev, Brandt on Socialism

PM1810135289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With W. Brandt" on 17 October in Moscow]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev and Willy Brandt had their latest meeting on 17 October. This continuing dialogue, according to their common appraisal, is important for both of the countries, parties, and movements which they represent; it is necessary for all of Europe.

The interlocutors briefly exchanged opinions on the significance of Mikhail Gorbachev's recent visit to the FRG and the state of links between the CPSU and the SPD, in particular about the activities of the F. Ebert Fund mission in Moscow. They are in favor of deepening contacts between the Socialist International and the CPSU. The Soviet Union is ready to receive a Socialist International delegation in the coming year. The meeting will cover the forms and subject matter for regular exchange of opinions not only on peace and disarmament but possibly also on world economy and ecology, on the scientfic and technical revolution and information processes, on North-South problems, and on the prospects for socialism and civilization as a whole.

Speaking about the fate of the socialist idea, Mikhail Gorbachev raised the issue of certain circles in the West wishing to present what is occurring now in socialist countries as a failure of socialism and its very idea. In actual fact, it is an attempt to find for socialism an optimal response to the challenge of time. Answering this evaluation, Willy Brandt said that from a historical point of view it is more likely that we are now observing a new beginning.

The further development of socialism, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized, is thought of in the context of a general development of contemporary civilization, assimilating from the experience of other societies and social movements all that is acceptable for it and serves mankind. Here, naturally, much theoretical, political, and cultural work lies ahead.

The recent experience of the CPSU's contact with social democracy shows that the substantive and frank dialogue which has opened up, whereby everyone remains an adherent of his own values, can offer the world very important ideas essential for a vision of entering the 21st century.

Mikhail Gorbachev agreed with Willy Brandt that not everything has been clarified or interpreted fully in the experience of both the social democratic and the communist movement. We are ready to take a broad, unprejudiced, frank, and fearless look at the past, present, and future. We are also ready for the most serious discussion.

Mikhail Gorbachev raised the issue of the West's attitude toward perestroyka at its present very difficult stage. We know of those who are inclined to reason and act according to the old principle: the worse it is for the USSR, the better. However, it seems that the majority of the world understands the positive significance of perestroyka for the entire world process. They include the social democratic movement, too, whose solidarity and aspiration to understand our problems we value.

However, concern that perestroyka should succeed calls for particular attentiveness and caution in matters

related to the complex processes in the socialist countries. In this context, answering Willy Brandt's question about how the West could assist perestroyka, Mikhail Gorbachev said: The most important thing is that in the current watershed period nothing should happen like what took place at sharp turning points in past decades. The world is living through a crucial period. If a breakdown should be provoked, the consequences would be grave.

We can now talk of a new trust in the relations among states, engendered on the basis of the strict imperatives of the times. However, if some people try to make use of the difficult search for what is new or try to tamper with the natural process, then all this will be threatened.

As for the internal tasks of perestroyka, we will tackle them ourselves. We are overcoming our own attitude of living at others' expense and we are certainly disinclined to count on it in our outside relations. We need normal cooperation in the areas of the economy, ecology, and culture; to put it more briefly, a normal outside environment for our internal work.

At Willy Brandt's request, Mikhail Gorbachev described the main aspects of the situation in the country and gave a frank appraisal of certain measures which failed to yield the desired results, since no systematic approach was ensured when they were being elaborated. The individual instances of politics lagging behind the pace of the activation of society are connected with the fact that the problems are too complex, requiring a thorough analysis. We do not wish to give unripe fruit to the people, although attempts are made to urge us to do that.

We are presently going through a period when the understanding is finally becoming ripe in society that the main thing is constructive work. We are gradually and with difficulty emerging from the phase of development characterized by holding rallies. It was essential; nothing would have been built without it. It made it possible for people to understand themselves and their society, to come to appreciate the necessity for perestroyka and the policy that is needed for it. It erupted so much, however, and brought such a great deal to the surface that even now we continue to feel the "residual" tremors of this "earthquake." We now have more confidence in attaining success because we know more about our potential and we have begun to make some of the biggest decisions on the fundamental questions of our life.

Laws are being prepared that will change the situation at the very basis of society. Work is under way both in the party and the Supreme Soviet. The main thing now is to lower the tension both in social and economic matters, which are giving rise to discontent in the people, to break through this particular phase, and to enter an area where all the main ideas of perestroyka begin to work in practice.

It is not at all easy to make in-depth changes in our society; it is very heavily burdened by its past, habits, and notions, which have evolved in other times. However, given all the ups and downs and difficulties, we are not losing the main guideline. In all the diversity of ideas and opinions on the situation in the country, no one has been able to propose alternatives to that platform of perestroyka which the party has elaborated. The choice was correct, as was the strategy. As for the tactics, this is a question of daily struggle and work. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 17 October carries a report on Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Willy Brandt, which here adds the following: Taking part in the meeting were: Yavovlev, Medvedev, Falin, Chernyayev, Rykin, Egon Bahr, Gerhard Schroeder, Hans Koschnik, and Klaus Lindenberg.]

The last part of the conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Willy Brandt took place in private.

Brandt Honored at Academic Meeting

PM1810104789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Stay in Moscow"]

[Text] There are many problems which can be solved by the united efforts of social democrats and communists, Willy Brandt, who is visiting Moscow at the CPSU Central Committee's invitation, stated. The Socialist International chairman and Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] honorary chairman met 16 October with Soviet scholars involved in studying and generalizing the experience of the social democratic movement.

The guest touched on a broad range of questions both of a universal and of an exclusively party kind, and dwelt especially on the problems of economic and social efficiency in the development of capitalist and socialist states and third world countries, outlined the range of various approaches by the social democrats in various countries and regions to problems of social progress, and talked about his understanding of the modern model of socialism. He noted that the social democratic movement is characterized by its diversity of approaches to socialism and the rejection of any prevailing model. In this respect, W. Brandt said, the Socialist International is a community of independent, sovereign parties, not one of which foists its own opinion on others.

Sharing this view in principle, the Soviet participants of the meeting noted that both communists and social democrats are "birds of a feather," and the same common human values and primarily such global problems as ecology and maintaining peace on earth unite them. Both the social democratic leader and his partners in dialogue were unanimous that the long period of ideological confrontation cannot disappear in a day, but they need to have more frequent "roundtable" meetings and meet each other half way. As Professor A.A. Galkin, the leader of the interdepartmental council studying social democracy who presided at the meeting, noted, Soviet political scientists are fully determined within the framework of the new political thinking to return once

more to the glorious history of the international workers movement and all its tendencies, rejecting the legacy of obsolete dogmas connected with Stalinism and the stagnant period, in other words, to act in the perestroyka spirit. Naturally, this presupposes that the parties will move toward each other, and Brandt's present visit to Moscow is shining testimony to this.

The scholars drew the guest's attention to the fact that Soviet society is persistently looking for the most efficient model for democracy's development. How can this be achieved, what is the opinion on this subject in the Socialist International and, particularly in the SPD? W. Brandt stressed that social democratic parties have adopted a common approach: Genuine political democracy is impossible without pluralism of opinions and full rights and freedoms for every individual. Soviet Communists also share this viewpoint, it was said at the meeting.

W. Brandt became an honorary doctor of Moscow University. Moscow State University's Academic Council made this decision taking into account his contribution to the development of science and the strengthening of peace and cooperation among peoples.

The prominent public and state figure's progressive political actions are well known in our country, Academician A.A. Logunov, rector of the university, said, presenting the guest with a diploma and medal at a council sitting. As the political leader who led the SPD for 23 years and headed the Socialist International and the North-South Commission as of 1976, and as federal chancellor from 1969 through 1974, he made a huge contribution to the achievement of detente on the European continent and to the strengthening of relations between our two countries. We hope that the decision to award W. Brandt the lofty title will help further deepen mutual understanding between the USSR and FRG peoples and expand cooperation, the rector noted.

The honorary doctor himself called this ceremony an event which filled his heart with joy. Answering the friendly greetings and congratulations of Academician Yu.S. Kukushkin, dean of the history faculty, and of V.M. Falin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, he noted that the new title opens up new opportunities for him to develop scientific ties. As far as I can I shall help to strengthen not only contacts between the two countries' scientists but also scientific cooperation in Europe as a whole, the guest stated, stressing moreover that international politics today needs firmly based scientific advice.

Then in Moscow State University's assembly hall W. Brandt gave a speech to students and professors on the subject "The New Thinking—A Chance for Europe and the World." It is precisely now, the speaker stressed, that the time has come for this thinking which will help peoples to move forward into a future where they will neither have to starve or be afraid. I propose that together we help each other in this work as much as we can.

In the evening W. Brandt visited the Moscow office of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation founded in 1925 in honor of the first president of the Weimar Republic with the aim of spreading socialist ideas in the German workers movement.

Prominent SPD figures E. Bahr, G. Schroeder, and H. Koschnick, and R.P. Fedorov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, accompanied the guest.

Finnish Trade Minister Praises Ties

PM1810130389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Mutually Advantageous Cooperation. Finnish Trade Minister on Ties With USSR"]

[Text] Finnish Trade and Industry Minister Ilkka Suominen has highly appraised the present state of Soviet-Finnish trade and economic relations. Thanks to efforts on both sides, he stressed in an address to the national parliament, we have succeeded in giving balance to cooperation in this sphere in recent years.

The economic transformations taking place in the Soviet Union are already having an impact on the nature of economic ties between our countries, I. Suominen continued. He underlined the need to develop new forms of cooperation, such as the establishment of joint ventures. In this connection the minister said that Finland is the first capitalist country to sign an agreement with the Soviet Union on protection of investments. An accord has been reached to set up approximately 100 joint Soviet-Finnish ventures.

Finland's Koivisto Previews Gorbachev Visit

PM1910074589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report on Finnish President M. Koivisto's conversation with a group of Soviet journalists on M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming visit to Finland: "It Will Be a Demonstration of Friendship"]

[Text] Helsinki, 18 Oct—"The upcoming visit by USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman M.S. Gorbachev will be a demonstration of friendship. The visit continues the tradition of summit meetings, which are highly important in terms of the general development of relations. It is a significant fact that in our rapidly changing world Finland and the Soviet Union can confirm with very considerable authority the fine state of their mutual relations, which are based on the strong foundation of treaties and agreements and on long-term cooperation. Stability, continuity, and predictability are not embellishments of ceremonial speeches, but actual, concrete, and quintessential features of our relations."

Finnish President M. Koivisto said this in conversation with a group of Soviet journalists. He was receiving representatives of PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, TASS, LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, and the newspaper RAHVA HAAL (Tallinn), who are in Helsinki at the invitation of the Finnish Foreign Ministry.

It is a changing world, and relations between Finland and the Soviet Union cannot stand aloof from this process, the president said. The profound changes that are being carried out in the Soviet Union affect our economic cooperation as well. New regional dimensions are emerging in our ties in the sphere of the economy and cultural life and in other fields. Environmental issues are now demanding special attention and a thorough and vigorous approach. I am sure that during the upcoming visit we will be able to openly discuss the new challenges that are occurring in our bilateral relations and determine the new areas in which we can act in response to them.

We in Finland are deeply satisfied with the new spirit of cooperation, which, it seems to us, is revitalizing international relations in Europe and all over the world, M. Koivisto continued. The belief in the need to strengthen the concept of Europe is becoming ever stronger, irrespective of whether this Europe is called Europe in the broad sense of the word Europe, which lies in the groove of the all-European process initiated by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, or common European home, or European peace structure. The concept of Europe will be discussed during the visit. We are content to be able to talk about Finnish-Soviet relations as a factor that contributes to a qualitatively new desire for European cooperation and strengthens it.

During the visit we expect to be able to sign another 5-year agreement on trade, which will confirm the continuity of the foundations of our trade relations and the direction of their development. At the same time, we believe that we will be able to confirm the protocol, which was elaborated as a result of prolonged contacts, on the development of cooperation on the Kola Peninsula in many sectors of the economy, science, and technology—cooperation we are greatly interested in. Treaty regulation of areas of long-term cooperation is also expected—in particular in such spheres as science, technology, and environmental conservation. It is also intended that many new agreements on the establishment of joint enterprises will be signed during the visit. In all these accords we can see the strengthening of the already proven foundation of our economic cooperation and the spread of this cooperation to new spheres.

I hope that during the visit I will be able to exchange opinions with M.S. Gorbachev on the potential for the development of our trade links and the system of links, so that together we can fully exploit in the long term the potential that the economic reform in the USSR provides in terms of expanding our economic cooperation. Joint concern for the state of the environment is a new focus of attention in relations between our countries. I hope that during the visit we will achieve mutual understanding on the question of the implementation of those cooperation projects which correspond to the goals we face.

Relations between Finland and the USSR are traditionally stable, and politically we have no problems, the president said. The treaty basis of these relations—I am talking primarily about the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance—is sound. Changes in international politics and the new direction of Soviet foreign policy are opening up new prospects. From the viewpoint of our bilateral relations these are positive phenomena. At the same time, although the foundations of our relations are stable we must see to it that the tasks that life confronts us with are solved. Both in Finland and in the Soviet Union there is, in my view, a very strong desire to respond to the challenges of the times and inject new content into the process of cooperation between our countries in accordance with present-day development in the economic, scientific, technical, and other spheres. We have insufficient resources for wide-ranging, comprehensive participation in global economic, scientific, and technical processes, but we have been able to achieve good results in some spheres of knowledge and in the application of this knowledge. We can apply this principle on a wider scale—as we have done before—in our economic links with the Soviet Union.

I am convinced that in other spheres as well our links are becoming "Europeanized." The atmosphere of our relations is good, and in this kind of atmosphere it is easy to develop more flexible forms of contacts in various spheres, free from red tape. It is necessary to involve young people in these contacts in a new way—on terms put forward by them. Regional contacts, which are already developing positively, should also continue to intensify. The improvement of centralized exchange through the development of direct exchange between regional organizations or individual branches of culture is a promising area of cultural links. The potential is there, the foundation is there, so let us develop this potential.

As a result of decades of work economic relations between Finland and the Soviet Union have become exceedingly wide-ranging, M. Koivisto continued. For a long time the Soviet Union has been a major trade partner for Finland. Finland accounts for a very considerable proportion of the Soviet Union's trade with industrially developed Western countries. Experience shows that the clearing system of trade between our countries has been the best way of ensuring large-scale and high-standard trade exchange. We support the preservation of the clearing system as the basis of our economic relations in the foreseeable future.

The obstacles that have appeared lately and the imbalance of trade due to the movement of prices of energy sources revealed certain shortcomings in our payment system, which it was possible to rectify while at the same

time adding flexibility to trade practice. We sought to intensify the economic factors in our trade and reduce the administrative factors. And we can state with satisfaction that the imbalance situation has now been rectified and the way is being paved for the further development of trade exchange. Despite falling prices for energy sources we have so far managed, through increased efforts, to maintain the level of exchange and the multifaceted nature of Finnish exports. The 5-year agreement which it is planned to sign during the visit will safeguard the present level of trade. At the same time, we have established prerequisites for the further diversification of our trade exchange.

Apart from the prices of energy sources, which are the main item in our imports, the development of our bilateral trade ties depends ultimately also on the diversification of the Soviet foreign trade structure. We believe that the diversification of imports from the USSR is the main task in the development of our bilateral trade. The overhaul of Soviet foreign trade offers new possibilities in this respect. In the changing conditions we expect the Soviet economic reform to have a long-term influence on the state of affairs, and we will pay attention to those forms of cooperation which can produce a positive result for both sides in the long term.

When talking about the long term, it is clear that the Soviet economic reform will make new demands on the development of trade, but this reform will also provide new opportunities and new potential, the president noted. Our economic cooperation is already contributing in many ways to the goals of the economic reform. At the same time, the economic reform, as it moves ahead, broadens the foundations of our bilateral trade. The creation of joint ventures and other factors of economic mutual influence, based on new initiatives, in areas close to our country generate new hope. It is important that, by improving the system of trade, we should be able to ensure more favorable conditions for new forms of economic cooperation. In the future our task is to ensure that interest is maintained in the clearing system and its competitiveness at enterprise level—given decentralization of decisionmaking in Soviet foreign trade.

Yefimov Received by Swedish Defense Minister

PM1810134189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[Reports under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister, left Moscow for Sweden 16 October on an official visit at the invitation of the commander of that country's Air Force.

Stockholm, 16 Oct (TASS)—Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister, who is here on an official visit, was received by Swedish Defense Minister R. Carlsson.

Soviet-Turkish Economic Cooperation Talks End

LD1810215589 Moscow TASS in English 1911 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—"An event out of the ordinary"—these were the words used by Soviet Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev and Turkish Minister of Finance and Customs Ekrem Pakdemirli to describe the 12th session of the joint Soviet-Turkish Intergovernmental Commission for Economic Cooperation.

The leaders of the two delegations were speaking at the official ceremony of signing the final documents of the session which ended in Moscow today.

During the session, the parties discussed the further development of trade and economic relations, progress in the fulfillment of mutual obligations and perspectives for building industrial and other projects in the Soviet Union, Turkey and third countries.

They also discussed prospects for the development of border and coastal trade and the sale of Turkish consumer goods in the Soviet Union.

The representatives of the business communities of the two countries examined the possibilities of creating more favourable conditions for bilateral trade. They discussed improvements in the finance and credit system and the introduction of new forms of economic interaction.

Improvements in automobile, air and sea transportation, the expansion of the commercial information exchange, and the opening of new border crossing points also came under discussion.

The working groups debated details of the expansion of bilateral trade in consumer goods, industrial, technical and chemical products, medical equipment, household appliances, and telecommunication systems.

Since the heads of two government signed an agreement in 1986, the mutual commodity turnover has trebled. Its value this year will amount to one billion United States dollars.

It is planned to raise the value of bilateral trade to a total of 4 billion dollars.

Today, the Turkish delegation met the first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Lev Voronin.

New Ambassador to Denmark Appointed

PM1710130189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 89 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed "Chronicle" report]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Gennadiy Georgiyevich Vedernikov USSR Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Denmark.

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaragua Praises Soviet Central America Policy

LD1710143189 Moscow TASS in English 1417 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Managua October 17 TASS—When visiting Nicaragua, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said that the Soviet Union was ready to act together with the United States as guarantor of a regional agreement of the balance of forces. Nicaragua fully supports this major Soviet initiative, said Alvaro Garcia, head of the Socialist Countries Department of the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry.

"New political thinking which is being established in the world due to the Soviet Union serves as a major factor in progress in normalising the situation in Central America," Garcia told TASS.

"Nicaragua highly appreciates the Soviet Union's policy regarding the Central American conflict. It believes that this policy promotes the establishment of lasting peace in the region.

"Political relations between the Soviet Union and Nicaragua are based on friendship, mutual respect, and non-interference in internal affairs. Nicaragua's and the Soviet Union's points of view coincide on all key issues of international politics.

"Our two countries favour universal disarmament and relaxation of tension, the observance of international law and order, and respect for self-determination of peoples.

"The restoration of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Nicaragua on October 18, 1979, marked the beginning of fraternal cooperation between the two countries.

The Soviet Union, he said, was one of the first to come to the aid of the Nicaraguan people who inherited a burden of economic crisis from the Somoza tyranny and became the target of the U.S.-financed Contras' aggression.

"The Nicaraguans are grateful to Soviet people for their unselfish support, without which the progress of the Sandinista revolution would have been inconceivable.

"During the first post-revolutionary years Nicaragua was unable to maintain economic contacts that would have benefited the Soviet Union," Garcia said.

"Now that the republic is placing itself on a peaceful footing, the Nicaraguan Government seeks to find resources that will make our cooperation mutually beneficial," he added.

Exchange of Jubilee Messages

PM1810130989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Oct 89 Morning Edition p4

[TASS report: "To Mark an Important Date"]

[Text] The Soviet and Nicaraguan foreign ministers have exchanged congratulatory telegrams to mark the 10th anniversary of the normalization of diplomatic relations between their countries.

Ten years ago, E.A. Shevardnadze said in his telegram, an important page in our relations was opened. In the time that has passed since then, thanks to joint efforts, these relations have acquired firm foundations and reached a high level of constructive collaboration and sincere friendship. An inalienable feature of these relations is the fruitful dialogue which makes it possible for us to collate our positions and map out the guidelines for joint action in key areas of international policy. The closeness of our conceptual approaches to the most important world processes and questions of resolving regional conflicts was once again demonstrated during the recent meetings in Nicaragua. During the talks, which were imbued with an atmosphere of mutual understanding, we outlined ways to continue the peaceful settlement in Central America and also ways to develop bilateral cooperation in the name of socioeconomic progress for the two countries' peoples.

The Soviet side expressed confidence that, under the healthy influence of the democratization and renewal processes taking place in both countries, relations between our states will continue to grow stronger for the good of the Soviet and Nicaraguan peoples and for the sake of universal peace.

In his telegram M. D'Escoto Brockman confirmed that an absolutely new stage began in relations between the Soviet and Nicaraguan peoples and governments on 18 October 1979, the first 10 years of which have been distinguished by joint successes in the struggle for peace, social progress, and self-determination for the peoples.

On behalf of the Nicaraguan Government and the Nicaraguan people, the minister conveyed to the Soviet people very best wishes of success in resolving the ambitious tasks within the country and in the international arena and spoke in favor of strengthening the bonds of sincere friendship and cooperation which closely bind the Soviet Union and Nicaragua.

Supreme Soviet Session

Deputies Discuss Cooperatives, Ownership 17 Oct

PM1810133189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Oct 89 Morning Edition p1

[IZVESTIYA parliamentary correspondents V. Dolganov, V. Kurasov report under the rubric "At the Second Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet": "Draft Law on Ownership Discussed"]

[Text] The joint morning sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities was opened on 17 October by A.I. Lukyanov. The electronic display screen showed that there was a quorum: 435 deputies had taken their seats.

In line with the agenda, they proceeded with the discussion of the draft Law "On Ownership in the USSR."

The first to take the floor was Deputy L.A. Arutyunyan. She believes that the draft has dropped the clause on ownership of autonomous formations, which runs counter to our state's national policy. Deputy V.D. Yudin proposed including cultural and historical monuments and also intellectual assets as objects of ownership.

Deputy V.N. Fominykh spoke of the need to develop a precise mechanism for implementing the laws adopted by parliament. Deputy V.A. Volkov's proposal to submit the draft law for nationwide discussion was supported by deputies G.A. Pogosyan and L.I. Sukhov.

Deputies P.G. Bunich, N.S. Petrushenko, V.I. Vorotnikov, and others also took part in the discussion of the Law on Ownership in the USSR at the morning sitting.

... The day before, 16 October, having adopted the USSR Law "On Introducing Amendments and Additions to the USSR Law 'On Cooperatives in the USSR'" and decided to discuss the final version of the resolution on regulating cooperatives' buying and selling activity at the next plenary sitting, the participants in the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet continued their discussion of the draft law on the general principles of leadership of the economic and social spheres in the union republics.

As is well known, a report on this question was delivered last week by L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. At this sitting the speaker answered written questions from people's deputies, after which the floor was given to V.S. Advadze, deputy chairman of the Commission on Questions of Social and Economic Development in Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Oblasts and Okrugs. The deputy stressed that the new draft law must become an inalienable part of radical economic reform. In his opinion, the question today should not be to broaden the sphere of economic management in union and autonomous formations, as stated in the draft, but to give them economic independence. The relationship between the center and the union republics must be clearly regulated. Members of the commission believe that, in its present form, the new draft law does not fully accord with the task of radically restructuring all spheres of life in our society.

Deputies N.N. Gritsenko, Ye.Ye. Sokolov, V.I. Lisitskiy, M.A. Bocharov, V.I. Kirillov, and others took part in the discussion. In particular, Deputy K.D.P. Prunskene expressed fundamental objections to the essential thrust of the draft law, indicating that it does not accord with the tasks of introducing regional economic accountability and conducting economic reform.

The Supreme Soviet did not pass the draft law on its first reading and instructed the government and the appropriate committees and commissions to revise it, with reference to the draft laws on ownership and the land and other documents that have already been submitted or will be submitted in the near future for consideration by the session. The new version of the draft law on the general principles of leadership of the economic and social spheres in the union republics must be submitted to the session by 15 November.

The evening sitting was presided over by M.S. Gorbachev. Deputies began discussion of the draft law on ownership in the USSR, which was submitted by the government and studied by it in conjunction with the members of a number of parliamentary committees and commissions. The following delivered reports on this draft law: People's Deputy A.N. Boyko from the Committee on Questions of Economic Reform and People's Deputy Yu.Kh. Kalmykov from the Committee on Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order. They talked about the great amount of work that had preceded the submission of the document for consideration by the session and briefly outlined the key provisions of the draft law which make it fundamentally different from previous legal acts concerned with questions of ownership in our country.

In particular, they drew deputies' attention to the fact that this is the first time in our legislative practice that we have considered a variety of forms of ownership. This is the first time we have incorporated not only social ownership but also ownership by individual Soviet citizens in the concept of socialist ownership; there have also hitherto been no provisions in our laws for ownership by religious organizations.

Presiding over the sitting, M.S. Gorbachev said that quite a large number of deputies had put their names down on the list to take part in the discussion of the draft law but that the time allowed under the regulations would not be enough to give the floor to all who wished to speak. In view of this, and also the importance and complexity of the question, he proposed that the discussion be continued at the morning sitting on 17 October. The session participants accepted this proposal.

The discussion began with a speech by Deputy I.O. Bisher. Problems relating to the economy and interethnic relations have come to the forefront in our country, he said. That is why the Law on Ownership is extremely

important. But the deputy was perplexed as to why the draft included such a concept as "union republic ownership" of land and other natural resources. He was of the opinion that in this matter a clear line must be drawn between the competence of the union and the competence of the republics and the draft law brought into line with the Soviet Union's international pledges.

Deputy V.K. Chernyak noted as a positive fact the desire of the draft law's authors to abandon the concept of ownerless ownership—the basis of all bad management. Ensuring republics' economic sovereignty is the main factor required to develop and strengthen the economy of the whole union.

Deputy V.I. Postnikov spoke of the experience and advantages of introducing economic independence for enterprises, citing the example of the "Stavropolskoye" Broiler Production Association, of which he is in charge.

Stressing that we are returning to the principles of a mixed economy, Deputy F.M. Burlatskiy proposed the need to study family ownership and intellectual ownership as separate issues.

In his speech, People's Deputy N.K. Kozyrev dwelt on the internal contradictions which, in his opinion, are contained in the draft Law on Ownership and on the way in which some of its articles and provisions fail to "tie up." As a result, he said, we will be declaring one thing in a legal act and doing quite another in practice, as has been the case with our laws more than once in the past.

Deputy A.M. Yemelyanov proposed a number of specific amendments to be included in the draft law. For instance, he believes that the draft law poorly studies questions of ownership and economic independence for krays, oblasts, rayons, and cities. Provisions concerned with land ownership should be more precisely worded: It is impossible to reduce the different conditions and traditions of economic management in different regions of the country to a common denominator.

In the view of People's Deputy V.I. Samarin, too much attention is being devoted at the session to such forms of ownership as republic and regional, whereas USSR people's deputies should make all-union ownership the main subject of discussion.

The speech by Deputy S.S. Alekseyev showed clear signs of concern over the rather long-winded way in which the session is discussing questions and making important decisions. We cannot conclude the session without having adopted at least four of the most important laws: on ownership, on land, on the lease system, and on taxation. The deputy described the law on ownership as the economic manifesto of restructuring.

On this point the debate on the draft law was broken off until the next plenary sitting.

Before the close of the evening sitting, the chairman proposed that an information report be heard on the alleged attempt on the life of USSR People's Deputy B.N. Yeltsin.

The stenographic report of this part of the proceedings is published on page 2 of today's issue of IZVESTIYA.

Supreme Soviet Convenes 18 Oct Session

LD1810080189 Moscow TASS in English 0743 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Supreme Soviet again gathered for a joint sitting of the two chambers today. It is being chaired by Rafik Nishanov, Council of Nationalities chairman.

In contrast to the current practice at the session to hold plenary meetings only on Mondays and Tuesdays, deputies decided to gather today in order to speed up work on a bill on general principles of local self-government and local economy.

Economic, Political Independence Bill Debated

First Reading Approved

LD1810130389 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Excerpt] The USSR Supreme Soviet approved the first reading of the draft law on the groundwork for greater economic and political independence of soviets, or local government bodies. During the debate, several deputies, led by Andrey Sakharov, proposed eliminating a constitutional provision which grants the Communist Party the leading role in Soviet society. They argued that under the new conditions, power should rest entirely with the elected soviets. The proposal failed to win support of a majority in the Supreme Soviet, with lawmakers saying political power should be exercised by a political party. The approved draft is subject to further debates. [passage omitted]

Moscow TV Shows Recordings of 18 Oct Speeches

Sakharov Speech

LD1810222889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1748 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Speech by Andrey Sakharov at the USSR Supreme Soviet Session 18 October at the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] I support the idea that has been expressed in the report made by Deputy Pivovarov about the necessity to consider and to adopt the main restructuring laws jointly: the law that we are discussing today, the law on ownership, the law on a system of taxation, on agrarian reform and on enterprises. This list should also be

supplemented, from my point of view, with a law on national and constitutional reform. The reason is—we saw it during yesterday's discussion, and it has made itself felt today—that all these questions are interconnected. Without consideration of the questions on the national and constitutional reform we can solve neither the issues of the local power, nor the issues of ownership. The law being discussed today has a huge fundamental significance; the question is about the implementation of one of the main goals of perestroyka; realization of the slogan: All power to the soviets! We should carry out the discussion in just this context, and that is why we cannot evade discussion of questions about the correlation of the power of the soviets and the power of the party. In fact, in Article 6 of the Brezhnev constitution the dual power system—the power of the party and the popular power—that had been established in our country was consolidated constitutionally, with the party's preferential right for power and for minimal responsibility. This is an anachronism. This is a complete violation of the basic principles of the popualr power, which we cannot preserve; that is why Article 6 of the Constitution should be abrogated. These are the deamnds of life. The party, the CPSU, is now losing its singled-out position. In fact, in our country a virtually multi-party system is already appearing. We are at the threshold. We have simply neither the legal nor moral right to preserve Article 6. This...[Sakharov is interrupted by a bell ringing. Deputy Nishanov says, "Andrey Dmitriyevich, I ask you to adhere to the questions of the discussion] I believe this question bears a fundamental relation regarding the question of the power of the soviets, a most decisive importance. We can answer the question in just this perspective. The Communist Party has the right to exist; it has, of course, the same right as any other party, the same right as any church; actually, these are organizations of the same type, things of the same type. That is how we msut solve this issue.

Lutsans' Speech

LD1810225889 Moscow Television Service in Rusian 1806 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Speech by Deputy Lutsans, Limbali Rayon party member from Riga, at the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 18 October at the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] First, I would like to say that one of the previous speakers spoke about the fact that local soviets could be share holders. Local soviets should not be allowed to do this, I think, because then they will not have equal rights or they will become dishonest in relations with certain institutions; this should be taken into account after all. The law on local self-government is a document that shows that the centralized system of government is gathering strength and clinging to the old principles, is drawing up new rights for local self-government while at the same time undermining the bases for genuine local self-government by prescribing its functions down to a trivial level. I think that these questions can be resolved in the republics. As a person who has worked in manufacturing, I can say that unless the question of ownership by the republics is solved, there is no basis for talking about self-government.

Speaking to us, Comrade Shishov said in essence that this is a very serious matter and we must not make mistakes. One might think that he would know how things really stand. The conclusion of the Supreme Soviet commission is of course, mistaken. If Comrade Shishov, is so infallible, then how are we to understand the evident fact that the economic position of the state is becoming critical. Why is there such success in foreign policy and chaos in the economy, if the principles of strategy are not incorrect? The center does not trust the republican governments. Of course, we can formally decide everything by a majority of votes, even to make me into soup, but is such a decision just and do we have the right to decide matters that concern the vital interests of peoples that are few in number in this way? It would only be a minor misfortune if this meant we could solve our economic problems. But on the contrary, such decisions lead in the opposite direction, to the economic situation becoming more difficult; for republics deprived of the right to ownership are practically deprived also of the right to be in charge of their territories. This is a situation that we already have extensive experience of. The concept of union-republican ownership is a misunderstanding. If this formulation is adopted, I fear that that the radical, unofficial organizations in Latvia will turn out to be right; that there is no other alternative except secession from the union, since we are not in a position to get the better of centralism through parliament, yet centralism will lead us to complete ruin.

I think that when contemplating such a prospect, each person has the right to choose for him or herself. Without resolving the question of ownership, there is no sense in carrying on talking about self-government, since power without ownership is not power. If we could define our position and start to look for a solution—for the work currently underway is not leading us out of the deadlock but is only clarifying a few details—if we could define our position then I would like to propose that we start with a clarification of what the renewed union will be like, which Comrade Gorbachev spoke about. We know that much in the present union is not just; criminal undertakings are starting up in several republics, including in the Baltic republics. The logical beginning is not to force people to be quiet but to recognize that evil is being done and to formulate just principles, based on equality of rights, for union of genuinely sovereign states, to formulate on what bases each of the republics is a member of the union and also the procedure for an honest and unemotional withdrawal. This does not only apply to union republics. The rights of autonomous republics and other ethnic groups must also be formulated. Solutions to the problems of nations, cut off from their territories, must be found, and so on. It is true that this will be a long slow process but one can say with certainty that without solving these problems all our

atempts are bound to be unsuccessful, for economic and natural laws will not forgive us a careless attitude toward them and will punish us without fail. We have experienced this up to now and are still experiencing it. Thank you.

Dyakov Speech

LD1810222989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1851 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Speech by Ivan Nikolayevich Dyakov at the USSR Supreme Soviet 18 October at the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies, I would like to express a few views today about the speeches made by certain people's deputies. The point at issue is the place and role of our party in society. We have all been brought up with the fact that throughout this whole period the CPSU has been carrying out political leadership in our country. Recently, however, in the course of perestroyka, the party has been coming under considerable criticism for both the shortcomings and mistakes that have occurred in our country in the course of construction. [as heard] Therefore, I would like to say this today: It is being subjected to onslaughts and attacks from various sides, from people who reject the party's very right to political leadership in society. In this sense, I could not restrain myself from coming out on the platform today about Comrade Sakharov's speech. I think that the question of self-government that is being discussed today, a matter directly involving political power, can be considered in the following way: What sort of authority are we talking about today? What sort of separation of powers did Comrade Sakharov's speech and some others concern?

If it is a question of governing by state power, then the party has indeed set its course toward restoring the elementary principles of self-government and the initial principles of the role of the local soviets. If that is how it is, then that is how it is. If one takes the second issue of the separation of economic power, at the 27th party congress someone said that we are separating the political and economic functions. They should be handed over to the local soviets, which is what we have been engaged on today, in working out the law on those who will provide the opportunity for our state to be managed by the local soviets on different levels. You tell me, please, in what state the management of society is implemented without political power. Tell me please, is there any political party that carries out the management of parliament, congresses, and so forth? Why is it that the CPSU should turn its back on the majority of communists that are in parliament? Therefore, I think that today communists should, on the contrary, make their work more active and step up their activity in the processes of restructuring. We do have something to work on. I think it is not just in words, but in deeds that we should also occupy positions in the forefront in the complicated solution of the social and political problems in the life of our country. Today one can destroy everything, but there is no other party or political force that could head the reconstruction of our socialist society precisely on socialist principles. Only the party can cope with all those tasks, seeing in them their interests, and people, the majority of the people support it. In the party, in our country, there are no interests other than those of the people.

Work Continues in Commissions, Committees 18 Oct

Adamishin, Lukyanov Comment

LD1810214489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report over video by Andrey Konstantinov]

[Excerpts] The session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is holding its third plenary sitting of the week. [passage omitted]

[Konstantinov] Work is also continued today in the commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet. In particular, the Committee on International Affairs in the Granovitaya Palata examined the draft law on the procedure for USSR citizens to leave and enter the USSR. In essence, this is the first such document in the whole history of our state. [video shows committee at work followed by video interview with A.L. Adimishin, USSR deputy foreign minister]

[Begin recording] [V. Flyarkovskiy] Judging by everything, this law will liberalize the procedure for leaving and entering our country. There is a well-known story, for example, that in the 1970s—and the Americans themselves admitted this—that they solved their problem of increasing mathematician by 50 percent at the expense of the USSR. Will this story not be continued now?

[Adimishin] You know, I would not underestimate this problem. Because, when for the first time in the history of our country such extensive rights of departure are being given, then there could be problems, especially at first, which are unpleasant for the general development of society. The whole question is how to combat this problem. Previously, we combatted it by command and administrative methods—with a ban. You cannot depart and that is that. But a person is not the property of the state. That means it is necessary to do things in such a way and create the conditions—this was said at the committee today—which would reduce this inclination to depart. You recall that Mikhail Sergeyevich once said that we are trying to create the sort of state which no one would want to leave. [end recording]

[Konstantinov] There was a meeting of the commission of the USSR Congress of Peoples Deputies to check material connected with the activity of the investigative group headed by Gdlyan. There is great interest in this work but it is still too early to speak about specific

results. It is necessary to study hundreds of volumes of documents and to hear many witnesses.

Under the chairmanship of Comrade Lukyanov there was a routine meeting of the temporary committee to combat crime. [video shows committee at work] [Passage omitted on proceedings]

[Begin recording] [Lukyanov] A little over 2 months has passed since the country's Supreme Soviet passed a decision to resolutely intensify the struggle against crime which envisaged the creation of the temporary committee to combat crime in the USSR and of the corresponding committees in the localities. In general, this decision received universal support, it must be said, and is having an effect in the localities. The main task which the temporary committee is to solve is to organize cooperation between the soviets, the law enforcement bodies, the labor collectives, the broad public, and citizens to solve urgent tasks of the struggle against crime: that is, to unite all the forces of society. And the model regulations most clearly—you can now see for the exchange of opinions that we have had before this at the previous meeting—quite clearly outline this program. The model regulations define the status of the committees.

It is pointed out directly here that the temporary committee for combatting crime in the localities operates on the basis of the most strict observation of the demands of the constitution of the USSR and the constitutions of the union and autonomous republics, the laws of the USSR, and the laws of the union and autonomous republics. I think that it is of fundamental importance that these regulations contain the stipulations that the committees cannot become involved in the operational-investigative and procedural activities of the organs of the militia, investigators, procuracy, and courts on specific cases. I think that we should agree firmly on that.

Being accountable to the corresponding soviets of peoples deputies, the temporary committees are called upon to make active use of all existing powers of the state bodies, organizational possibilities, cadre and material resources, to mobilize all the reserves of society and primarily the system of criminal justice to intensify the struggle against crime in the country. [end recording]

Further on Exit-Entry Law

LD1810170889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] [Announcer] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We are linking with the correspondent's post of all-union radio in the Kremlin. Our special correspondent Igor Zorin is at the microphone:

[Zorin] Hello, esteemed listeners. The hall of the building where both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet usually hold their sessions in the Kremlin is empty now. Deputies are working in committees and commissions of the USSR in various places, including in the Kremlin.

A moment ago I returned to this building, which houses our correspondents' office, from the Hall of Mirrors of the Grand Kremlin Palace, where the Supreme Soviet committee on international issues is meeting. Debates on the first reading of a draft law on entry into, and exit from, the USSR are underway. Article 1 of the draft law says that each citizen of the USSR has the right to enter and to leave the Soviet Union. This wording is in line with international law, specifically, the Vienna international legal documents. Of course, if this law is adopted—and most likely it will be adopted, and it is to be examined at the current session, as was announced at the meeting—this law will open a new page in our country's life, for it applies to all of us because it deals not only with exit for permanent residence abroad but with the freedom of travel of each citizen of the USSR. The draft law proposes to issue foreign passports valid for 5 years, while Deputy Burlatskiy, for example, and others propose that these limits should be expanded for example to 10 years. Here is clause 2 of Article 3: A foreign passport is issued if you are going abroad on a private visit on the basis of your individual application to the internal affairs bodies at the area of your residence. Each citizen defines time limits for his stay abroad when handing in the application. Naturally, private trips abroad will be financed by the individuals themselves, from their purse.

It is supposed that we will have a right to change our money once a year for R200 hard-currency rubles; this amount, though, is being contested. You may ask whether there are contraindications to free exit from the USSR on a private trip. Yes, there are, and they include considerations of state security, criminal liability, your property obligations, and if the individual is in prison. So, for the first time in the USSR's history exit abroad and entry back will be regulated by a USSR law and not by departmental instructions which are hard to count. Your application for a passport will be examined within a month, according to the draft law, and in the case of illness or death of a relative—God forbid, of course—within 3 days. If for some reason you have been denied a foreign passport, you have a right to appeal to senior bodies of internal affairs but in no case to the court; you can also appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet commission on citizens' rights.

In a word, when the law is adopted, it will become, for our country, a big step toward an open society. According to Deputy Burlatskiy, about 1 million people go abroad for visits from our country, whereas 4 million people used go go abroad for temporary trips from tzarist Russia. Having given that information, Comrade Burlatskiy also said that the problem of the iron curtain has been solved in our country and now one has only to pull down the legal fences. Well, the commissions are continuing their work in various parts of Moscow, and I am sending this reportage from the Kremlin.

Local Self-Government, Local Economy

LD1810141589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1200 GMT on 18 October carries a 12-minute report by correspondent Lyudmila Semina on the work of the current USSR Supreme Soviet session currently meeting in the Kremlin in Moscow.

She opens this report by saying:

"A plenary meeting of the session was held this morning. It is likely that in weeks to come such sessions will be held not only on Mondays and Tuesdays. There are too many important decisions to be taken, and time waits for no one."

Next, Semina presents an excerpt of the speech by Deputy Pivovarov on the draft law on the general principles of local self-government and the local economy. Pivovarov says: "The concept of this law, and this is the common view of the committee, seems to us to be the following. Firstly, the rights of local self-government should belong to a community of inhabitants, to a territorial collective, and be implemented through representative bodies, other bodies of self-government, and, if necessary, through local referendums. As they are totally autonomous in the adoption of any decisions within their sphere of competence, only those decisions which violate laws may be revoked. Secondly, the management of new formations may be carried out exclusively in accordance with the law; moreover, oblast-level government bodies function not in the capacity of higher bodies but in the role of coordinators in dealing with tasks which are beyond the capabilities of individual cities, rayons, inhabited localities, and also, as a result of their having a body of specialists, in the role of organizations providing services and carrying out the functions of state administration. Thirdly, it is essential to ensure the economic basis for the system of self-government. The plan is to set up local economies comprising the collective property of a territory's population and of its formulations. What is more, the system of financial regulation should stimulate the economic and entrepreneurial activity of local bodies of self-government themselves. Life has already prompted us, comrades, that we have no need to fear expansion of the powers of local self-government in the search for resources for the social development of the latter's territory. We evidently need to fear only one thing, and that is that the passing of the diktat of power from existing top offices to the offices of local soviets".

Pivovarov then goes to give details of the version of the draft law being discussed.

Semina next presents an excerpt of remarks by Deputy Shcherbak, who has just participated in the work of the session of the Kiev Soviet of People's Deputies. He reports on some of the session's decisions, one of which was a request to the USSR Supreme Soviet for this draft law to be adopted as soon as possible. He generally supports the drafts but makes certain suggestions about its wording. Semina then presents an excerpt in which Deputy Rakhimova speaks of the importance of this law in allowing people to judge whether Soviet power has really reached grassroot level. She supports the draft on the whole and makes a few suggestions with respect to its wording.

Further on Local Self-Government

LD1810125589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy reports from the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin]

[Text] [Ruvinskiy] The plenary sitting continued at today's session. As was decided yesterday, the commissions and committees will meet in the afternoon, after the lunch break.

In the morning the deputies started to examine the draft law on the general principles of local self-government and the local economy.

In our country there are 50,000 local soviets, from which 2 million deputies are elected. This is a huge potential economic and political force, which, under the system in existence today, is not very effective. This was stressed by comrade Pivovarov, chairman of the Commission on Working with Soviets of People's Deputies and the Development of Management and Self-Management. Among other things he said:

[Pivovarov] Many loud and authoritative words have been spoken before about raising the role and power of the local soviets. We have all seen the adoption of many decisions on raising the role of soviets, but not one of them was implemented completely. First and foremost because they did not provide a mechanism for real power for the soviets, and contained empty wishes like: they can attract finance; they are obliged to take trouble; they must take an active part; they have the right to introduce proposals into draft plans. Of course they don't succeed. These decisions contained the administrative pressure method of management of the soviets, while by their nature the soviets are bodies of broad democracy and glasnost.

Everyday life tells us that only the principle of self-management and financial autonomy can be the basis of real power. In order to solve all the questions of labor and maintaining the living standard of the people, the soviets must have at their disposal the essential materials and financial resources. But today the arbitrariness of the local bodies of state power, especially at the grassroots level, is an obvious fact, and one that has been long known. The soviets have found themselves materially dependent for large and small on ministries and departments, and on the enterprises and organizations in their territory. After all, it is well known that he pays the piper who sings the tune.

The soviets, as a system of bodies of power, have been second class not only in relation to the party committees, but also to the economic organizations. The enterprises which are the basis for setting up a town have not yet become the source of development and social organization for the urban workers' settlement. This has led to a paradox that everyone can see: The more developed a territory is in the industrial sense, the poorer the social sphere is.

But that is one side of the matter. What is the situation of a soviet in whose territory there are no enterprises at all? The situation has been exacerbated also by the fact that nearly all important decisions on the issues of the social and economic development of regions have not been backed up by any real measures on strengthening the economic basis of the soviet. The budget of the soviet has been drained, so that at the present time all the local budgets amount to less than 15 percent of the total USSR state budget, and the budget of the rural soviets to 0.8 percent. Think about it, comrades, only 0.8 percent, when one-third of the total population of the country is living in 44,000 rural soviets.

In this way one can explain the loss in the last 10 years alone of 100,000 rural settlements. Things have reached the point where in some republics almost the only article in the expenditures of rural budgets has become expenditures on the maintenance of the staff of rural executive committees, who amount to only two [word indistinct] people on average. [words indistinct] Rural soviets have, in practice, turned into adjuncts of collectives and state farms, and are not in a position to make decisions on a single question of any importance in local life. Their authority, including on questions of land ownership, is profoundly empty. It is for this reason that a discussion has arisen in a number of places about the expediency of maintaining rural soviets.

[Ruvinskiy] After comrade Pivovarov's report, discussions took place. On the whole the deputies came out positively on the new draft. Opinions were voiced that it should be published in the press for detailed discussion in the localities. At the same time, the law should be examined and adopted as quickly as possible so that it can be used during the campaign for elections to local soviets which are to take place soon.

Comrade Nishanov chaired the morning session. After the break, the deputies will continue their discussion on the draft law.

Gdlyan Commission Hearings

PM1810160389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by A. Stepovoy: "From the Congress Commission Session"]

[Text] A routine sitting of the congress commission to check the materials connected with the activity of the USSR prosecutor's office investigation group, headed by T. Gdlyan, was held on 18 October, with USSR people's deputy V. Yarin in the chair.

The commission members and USSR people's deputies participating in the sitting heard reports [as published] by Russian Soviet Federation Socialist Republic deputy prosecutor A. Buturlin, who was Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] prosecutor from 1984 through 1987. He gave an explanation and answered numerous questions from commission members. Then S. Yigitaliyev, former chairman of the Uzbek SSR Suporeme Court, spoke.

Congress commission member V. Semenov presented his conclusions on the 25 April 1989 USSR Supreme Court plenum interlocutory decision in the case of I. Khint and other leaders of the "Dezintegrator" specialized production design bureau.

Interregional Group Criticized

PM1810115189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[S. Karkhanin "Political Observer's Notes" under the rubric "Debates in the Kremlin": "The Import of the Deputy's Word"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Ye. Kim, senior scientific associate of Omsk State University, was among deputies who proposed amendments to the draft law on cooperatives. He has recently been working on a kind of expert study of foreign economic problems in the context of the draft state plan and budget for 1990. Yevgeniy Yevgenyevich does not speak often at plenary sittings, trying to work more in committees. I asked him to comment the day's events.

"In my view, the decisions made today testify that we are heeding our voters' opinions," my interlocutor said. "And that the Supreme Soviet is aware of the complex processes occurring within society. At times, however, we do come up against evaluations which are, to say the least, strange. Some of my fellow-deputies are eagerly contemplating a civil war which is allegedly brewing up and a total coupon system which, in their opinion, ought to be introduced in the near future. They raise the specter of perestroyka's collapse, of bloody conflicts. .. I am categorically opposed to this appraisal of the present situation. Yes, it is complex, but it need not be described as hopeless. There are people who publicly assert their dislike of Marxism-Leninism: It apparently points back to the 19th century rather than forward into the 21st. This was said in a speech by Yu. Afanasyev, one of the cochairmen of the interregional deputies' group. But if a Communist is disenchanted with the party's ideological base, would it not be more honorable for him to simply resign from the party?

"Let us now pause and think of the possible effect of words uttered in passing by some people's deputies. The voters have faith in us, and importunate reflections about civil war or a coupon system encourage panic and hopelessness. And how are you to take the call by another

people's deputy not to pay your party dues while retaining your party membership card? Time and again we find ourselves at a point where we have to ponder our responsibility for every word spoken at a sitting, at a meeting with voters, or in an interview. Despite all the pluralism of opinions, it seems to me that there can be no justification for a people's deputy describing fellow-deputies elected from public organizations as 'members of the Black Hundreds.' This is no pluralism, it is an infringement of other people's rights and interests or, to put it simply, slander.

"I cannot agree with a whole series of statements made by B. Yeltsin in the United States. I do not see U.S. society as a model of democracy. In the course of meetings, my constituents in two okrugs inhabited mainly by workers insist: We must not allow any revival of private property, we must seek a way out of the present situation in the country only along the paths of socialism's development.

"Someone might ask me: Have you actually tried to argue with the deputies you have mentioned? Yes, I have tried. I criticized their intentions at a meeting of the interregional group to which I was invited. I have not been invited back since.... Admittedly they recently promised to summon me and get me to account for the fact that I took the liberty of expressing my opinion of one of the cochairmen's stance in a local newspaper. It looks as if these people perceive freedom of opinion only as freedom to agree with them. Incidentally, as far as I know the promises made by the group's organizers to actively help the Supreme Soviet in its work on alternative draft laws have yet to materialize."

This is how Ye. Kim ended our brief interview. Does his statement apply to the current debates in the Supreme Soviet? There is an obvious direct link. It lies in the statesmanlike responsibility of deputies whom the people have entrusted with the country's future. Now that they have embarked on a discussion of laws of fundamental importance for our economy, it makes sense to recall once again this responsibility and the essence of pluralism.

Deputies on Afghan Amnesty, Border Law

PM1810130789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

["Interview Between Sittings" in Moscow with Senior Lieutenant N.D. Tutov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Senior Lieutenant S.V. Belyayev, USSR people's deputy, by unnamed parliamentary correspondents: "What Is of Concern to Deputies?"; date not specified]

[Excerpts] In the breaks between sittings [of the USSR Supreme Soviet] the deputies usually continue discussing the questions raised in the session. Our parliamentary correspondents met with Senior Lieutenant N.D. Tutov, member of the Supreme Soviet, and Senior Lieutenant S.V. Belyayev, USSR people's deputy and assistant chief of the Political Department of Blagoveshchensk Border Detachment for Leninist Communist Youth League work. Which problems are of concern to them? [Passage omitted]

[Correspondents] On Monday the deputies received a draft resolution on an amnesty for "Afgantsy" [Soviet Afghan war vetran] who have committed crimes. You spoke on this and voiced a categorical opinion of the former draft...

[Tutov] Substantial additions have been made. The title itself has been changed, as deputies proposed. But still I believe that the draft lacks what public attention is now focused on. You cannot give amnesty to everyone with a single decree or resolution. A special commission must be set up to examine all cases on a personal level.

[Correspondents] But these questions could have been raised in the Committee for Defense and State Security Questions, of which you are a member...

[Tutov] Unfortunately, this draft "did not go through" our committee. But, probably, it should have been examined. I wish to point out in conclusion: Humanism must be shown toward the families of those who died in the Afghan war and toward invalids. It is also our concern to provide them all with apartments by 1991 and to create good rehabilitation centers for the wounded.

[Correspondents] The editors' mail contains many letters saying that the Law on the State Border does not accord with our perestroyka. What do you think about this?

[Belyayev] I do not think it is totally obsolete, but I agree that changes are needed. And in the following sphere: The warming of the international climate is having a direct influence on the border. And this should be taken into account. Also, we should probably speak more specifically about involving the local population in guarding the border. Juridical deciphering is needed, for the present law contains only general words. Incidentally, border guards frequently express such thoughts during meetings with me as a deputy.

Work Continues in Commissions, Committees 19 Oct

Ownership, Leasing, Socialist Enterprise

LD1910093689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Today USSR People's Deputies will work in committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. They are to continue discussing the draft laws submitted to the session: on ownership, on land and land utilization, leasing and lease relations, on socialist enterprise, and other issues. The Commission on Issues of Development of Industry, Power Engineering, Equipment and Technology envisages a discussion on a general concept of progress of economic reform in the country.

The Committee on People's Health care, jointly with the Committee on Issues of Ecology, is to hold hearings connected with the problems of population's health on the territory adjacent the Chernobyl Nuclear Elecrtic Power Station.

Political & Social

Poll Shows Sakharov Most Popular Deputy

90UN0044A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 40, 7-13 Oct 89 p 1

[Report by Ya. Kapelyush: "Public Opinion About People's Deputies"]

[Text] In order to maintain the proper "feedback" between the deputies and the voters, it is important to know how the people assess the positions of their elected officials. After the completion of the work of the first Congress of People's Deputies, the press published sociological polls with evaluations of the statements of certain deputies. The results of these investigations were reported in IZVESTIYA, VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and OGONEK. We also asked our readers to express their opinions on the most "outstanding" deputies of the first congress. Many assessments agree in all of these polls: In particular, Academician A. Sakharov was the most popular among the voters.

More than 15,000 postcards and letters have come to the editorial offices. The overall number of participants in the poll is 2-3 times greater since many of the messages contained such remarks as: "This is the opinion of the entire family," "this letter was discussed by the division of the collective," and so forth. We asked associates of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social Issues under the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems to analyze this mail. The results are reported by the central department chief, Ya. Kapelyush.

Judgments about deputies were expressed by readers from all the union republics. We received more than 3,000 postcards from Muscovites and more than 7,000 responses came in from the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], 3,000 from the Ukraine, and 2,000 from other union republics.

An average of about 10 deputies is indicated on each postcard. The complete list of deputies mentioned by participants in the poll includes more than 600 names.

The table given below includes deputies who were named simultaneously by more than 5 percent of the participants in the poll (the writers of more than 750 letters). The ratings were given per 1,000 letters. The names of the deputies are given in descending order of the overall number of times they were mentioned.

An analysis of the complete list shows that 100 deputies who attracted the most attention from readers of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY are distributed in two comparable groups: 55 people for whom positive evaluations prevail over negative ones, and 45 people for whom, on the contrary, there were more negative evaluations than positive ones.

In the first group, 71 percent are figures in science, culture, education, and public health; 16 percent are workers in soviet, party, trade union, and Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] organs; and other kinds of employment comprise 13 percent; members of the CPSU—69 percent; nonparty members—31 percent; deputies from territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs—64 percent; from social organizations—36 percent; deputies from Moscow—49 percent; the RSFSR—25 percent; the Baltic republics—16 percent; and other union republics—10 percent.

In the second group were workers of science, culture, education, and public health—39 percent; workers of soviet, party, trade union, and Komsomol organs—34 percent; other kinds of employment—27 percent; CPSU members—93 percent; nonparty members—7 percent; deputies from territorial and national- territorial okrugs—49 percent; from social organizations—51 percent; deputies from Moscow—29 percent; from the RSFSR—20 percent; from the Ukraine—17 percent; from Central Asia—15 percent; and from other republics—19 percent.

Certain letters and postcards gave generalized evaluations of the speeches and behavior of the groups of deputies. Thus the Moscow deputies on an average per 1,000 letters received 26 positive ratings and 4 negative ones; deputies from the Baltic republics—69 and 12; and deputies from the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan—4 and 77. The negative evaluations of deputies were—party functionaries (20) and those who "stamp their feet," "clap their hands," and "keep others from talking" (19).

Many who participated in the poll did not stop at naming the deputies and substantiated their evaluations. Here is a typical description of one of the most popular deputies: "Of the people's deputies who showed their best side at the congress, the first to be named should be A.D. Sakharov. Being neither an outstanding speaker nor a consummate diplomat, he acted consistently as a principled proponent of perestroyka, a democrat, and a humanist, guided not by immediate tasks, but by the final goals of the highest morality."

And here is an example of the substantiation of negative evaluations given to the least popular deputies: "A.S. Samsonov showed his worst side, proposing to reeducate the deputies who had 'gone too far' in the plant shops."

Readers of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY expressed both positive and negative evaluations of the position at the congress of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

and his first deputy. Here are the most typical substantiations for these views: "Many thanks to M.S. Gorbachev for his composure, modesty, culture, and ability to listen to, restrain, and persuade certain undisciplined deputies." And on the other hand: "His imposition of his opinion on deputies, commentaries on many speeches, choices without alternatives, and pressure during voting between 'right' and 'left' seriously tested his previous authority."

From the positive judgments about A.I. Lukyanov one can single out the following opinions: "His restraint and sober views, loyalty, and independence evoke respect." A negative evaluation is justified by his "old thinking, command style, and inability to change anything."

There is justification for asserting that the judgments and evaluations of people's deputies expressed by readers of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY adequately reflect public opinion in the country.

Ratings per 1,000 letters

Left column: deputies' names; center column: showed their best side; right column: showed their worst side.

Sakharov, A.D.	609	79
Popov, G.Kh	432	2
Yeltsin, B.N.	394	24
Afanasyev, Yu.N.	390	16
Vlasov, Yu.P.	361	15
Samsonov, A.S.	7	304
Yevtushenko, Ye.A.	287	21
Obolenskiy, A.M.	290	12
Kazannik, A.I.	287	6
Shmelev, N.P.	285	4
Sobchak, A.A.	258	8
Chervonopiskiy, S.V.	24	219
Yemelyanov, A.M.	202	3
Chernichenko, Yu.D.	196	9
Gdlyan, T.Kh.	187	15
Ivanov, N.V.	156	11
Meshalkin, Ye.N.	4	155
Sukharev, A.Ya.	2	154
Gayer, Ye.A.	144	3
Adamovich, A.M.	130	16
Rodionov, I.N.	10	136
Rasputin, V.G.	74	69
Aytmatov, Ch.T.	30	100
Nishanov, R.N.	10	108
Shevchenko, V.S	1	91
Karyakin, Yu.F.	73	15
Likhachev, D.S.	83	1
Belov, V.I.	21	51
Bykov, R.A.	70	1
Kasyan, N.A.	18	53
Stankevich, S.B.	67	4
Kazakova, T.D.	—	68
Bunich, P.G.	63	2
Medvedev, R.A.	32	33
Zaslavskaya, T.I.	49	9
Oleynik, B.I.	47	5
Zaslavskiy, I.I.	50	1

Journalist Arrested for Criticizing KGB, Officials

AU1910114489 Paris AFP in English 1118 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 19 (AFP)—A Soviet journalist, Sergey Kuznetsov, accused of slandering the KGB and local party officials in Sverdlovsk, Siberia, has been arrested at his home in nearby Perva Uralsk, former dissident and political prisoner Andrey Mironov said here Thursday.

The arrest, Wednesday, was carried out by 11 plain-clothes officers and one armed militiaman, he said.

Mr. Kuznetsov, a correspondent for the unofficial newspapers GLASNOST and EKSPRESS-KHRONIKA and publisher of local magazine SLOVA URALA, spent seven months in prison earlier this year for reports critical of party and security officials.

He was released conditionally in August after a 36-day hunger strike and demonstrations by supporters, Mr. Mironov said, adding that his case was being considered in camera by court officials.

His re-arrest follows a public meeting Tuesday attended by the local KGB chief, during which Mr. Kuznetsov reportedly accused him of involvement in the 1986 arrest of another political dissident who was sent to a mental hospital, Mr. Mironov said.

Kryuchkov Discusses Perestroyka in KGB

Part 1

LD1810120389 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 16 Oct 89

[First part of three-part interview with KGB Chief Vladimir Kryuchkov; Kryuchkov's remark's in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] Just a few years ago the words "openness" and the "the KGB" seemed absolutely incompatible, since everything connected with state security activities was safely screened from the eyes of the public. The current drive towards renewal and greater democracy has introduced change in that area too. One may recall how turbulent were last summer's parliamentary debates

accompanying the appointment of Vladimir Kryuchkov as chairman of the KGB, which is the National Security Committee incorporating the intelligence and counter intelligence services, border troops, antiterror units, and special teams of bodyguards for the country's leaders.

Naturally, many aspects of KGB work remain secret today, too. Evidently it will always be that way, since state security specifics demand so. And yet glasnost has been spreading to every more spheres of Soviet life and has even brought the KGB chief to reply to newsmen's questions. An interview of this kind would have been unthinkable just a few years ago.

Vladimir Kryuchkov is 65. He began his career as a factory worker. On graduating from a law institute he went to work at a procurator's office. Later he finished a diplomatic school and was sent to the Soviet embassy in Hungary. He had performed as a Communist Party executive for a number of years before he joined the KGB in 1967. The subsequent period of his life was virtually unknown until recently and his name was out of the news because Vladimir Kryuchkov was chief of the Soviet political intelligence. Last year he was appointed chairman of the USSR State Security Committee. He received our reporter in his study at the KGB office in Dzerzhinskiy Square, better known worldwide by its prerevolutionary name, Lubyanka.

Vladimir Kryuchkov's appearance— a medium-sized, lean man, with a high forehead, thinning hair and glasses, along with his manner of speaking gently without raising his voice—reminds one of a university professor. He was recently elected full member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

The first question put to Vladimir Kryuchkov was: have there been any fundamental changes in the operation of the KGB since 1985, when perestroyka began?

[Begin recording] [Kryuchkov] I have spoken about that on many occasions. There have been many changes, but I would like to single out now the KGB's contribution to improving our legislation and building a law-governed state. Our officers are trying to make every efort to make sure that arbitrariness and lawlessness that brought us all so much suffering in the past never repeat.

[Reporter] The armed services are being reduced and calls have been made for reducing the staff of the KGB. How can this be squared with the growth of terrorism, crime, and interethnic tensions. It would seem that in the circumstances the staff of the KGB and Ministry of the Interior should be increased. What is your view?

[Kryuchkov] Yes, indeed. One or two speakers in the Supreme Soviet called for reducing the apparatus of the KGB. But statements of a different nature were also made. Some speakers said that the security services should play a more prominent role in combatting crime, which has continued to grow this year. I would not take a simplistic approach and roll the issues of the strength of the apparatuses of the Ministry of Defense and the KGB into one. These are two different things and I don't think that the same yardstick can be applied to them, or for that matter to the Ministry of the Interior. As you may know, the Ministry of Defense is reducing its armed services as a result of the changes for the better that are taking place in the world. As far as the KGB is concerned, the range of tasks that we have to tackle has even broadened of late. Regrettably, crime has been growing in this country, including its most dangerous, organized form. Unless we take resolute action now, it will be much harder to combat that evil later on. Increasingly active contacts with foreign countries have led to a rise in the incidence of smuggling operations, involving essentially new channels. Direct economic relations established with foreign partners by ever more Soviet enterprises and organizations, including joint ventures and cooperatives, have often been used by irresponsible people for their own selfish ends. There have been quite a few problems related to the growth of drug trafficking and machinations with currency. That is yet another sphere demanding our close attention. I think instead of discussing in the law enforcement personnel we should think how to distribute our forces and funds more rationally. But if we attempt to combat crime through the mechanical swelling of the personnel of the Interior Ministry, Procurator's Office, courts of law and security service we are unlikely to be a success. We should launch research into the basic sources of crime. The experience of foriegn countries shows very convincingly whenever the law enforcement bodies fail to approach the crime problem in terms of the underlying reasons they will either mark time or else come up against increasingly complex situations. I hope we'll be able to organize our work with due regard for that sad experience. [end recording]

Part 2

LD1810121489 Moscow in English to North America 0100 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Second part of three-part interview with KGB Chief Vladimir Kryuchkov; Kryuchkov's remarks in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Excerpts] We now bring you part two of an interview granted to radio Moscow by the chairman of the KGB, Vladimir Kryuchkov. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Reporter] And now another question to Vladimir Kryuchkov: Anyone who has anything to do with politics realizes that in order to take serious decisions a government must have at its disposal full, accurate and impartial information. There are special services concerned with gathering it practically in every country. The KGB is one of the best known of them. What, in your view, should a secret service of a democratic state committee to a policy of peace be like?

[Kryuchkov] Well, that's a rather vague question. Of course, we must communicate to the leadership of the country only impartial and verified information of a

preemptive nature. It could be that the state would pay a dear price if its intelligence service misinforms it. We are fully aware of this. The most important thing is to preempt one or another negative phenomenon or trend and in order to be able to do this one must know what is going on and where. One must bear in mind that in a democratic society developing in an all-around way the emphasis is not only on the nature of information but also on the means whereby it is acquired. This is an issue of both the moral fabric and the integrity of those who work in the KGB. These means must have a legal basis. That is, the methods we use should not violate human rights. On the contrary, our staff must safeguard human rights and act exclusively within the framework of the law.

[Reporter] Glasnost or openness is one of the fundamental features of perestroyka. It has extended to practically aspects of life in the country and the KGB as well. The media carry reports about operations of the security services. Now, is that a tribute to the vogue of the day or something else?

[Kryuchkov] Well, frankly speaking, we came to realize quite recently that glasnost is a big advantage as far as we are concerned. I believe that it will help us to establish better contacts with the public and rely on the public. On the other hand, glasnost will enable the public to influence the state security organs and their work.

[Reporter] Interethnic problems have added another dimension in this country recently. In the past whenever such problems arose our media very often referred to what was termed provocations of Western secret services. Do you believe that these services are involved in what is taking place now in the Caucasus and the Baltic region? What in general is the relationship between state security and the aggravation of the interethnic problem?

[Kryuchkov] It is quite obvious that Western secret services and Western publications are not entirely disassociated from our interethnic problem. But above all we must look for the causes of interethnic tensions at home. If everything were all right at home no Western attempts could succeed in making our life difficult. That these problems arose so suddenly came as something of a surprise. Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about that at the recent party plenum. For a long time it seemed to us that we were doing fine as far as interethnic relations were concerned, but it seems that the situation is quite different in reality. I believe that we will be able to arrive at a suitable formula to deal with these problems, but the chances are that we will take more time than we would have liked to. [end recording]

Part 3

LD1910050889 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Last part of three-part interview with KGB Chief Vladimir Kryuchkov; Kryuchkov's remarks recorded in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Before you hear part three of the interview with the State Security Committee Chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov here's the gist of what he said in part two. Every intelligence service is supposed to objectively report to its government on events which have happened or are about to happen. In democratic societies, the moral side of their work matters; that is, how they get their information. The policy of openness had let the Security Committee receive public support, and it let the public influence the committee's activities. But aggravation of ethnic relations has caused new problems. Vladimir Kryuchkov elaborates on the subject:

[Kryuchkov] The recent railway strikes in Azerbaijan have shown that ethnic frictions can do enormous economic damage, and of course they hit the population in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and outside the Transcaucasian region. We're concerned that the aggravation of interethnic relations is accompanied by a growth of crime. Suffice it to recall the tragic events in Fergana—more than 100 people died there at the hands of criminals and more than 1,000 were injured. Over 700 houses and apartment blocks and some 30 public buildings were burnt down or looted. Naturally it's the job of the law enforcement services including the KGB to cut short these criminal actions.

[Announcer] Our reporter asked Vladimir Kryuchkov about the KGB's role in promoting peace and stability around the globe. Do you believe that perhaps it's high time we started considering intelligence services as an agency aimed not at preparing for war but rather as a means whereby world stability and international trust could be increased?

[Kryuchkov] I don't think that the intelligence service was concerned in the past with anything that had to do with preparations with war. Very often the activities of the intelligence service were, I would say, of a peaceful nature because it preempted an undesirable development of events for this or that nation by letting that state take appropriate steps. I believe that wishing to know more about each other is only natural and I would have refrained from censuring anyone for that alone.

The methods employed by an intelligence service and the goals that it pursues are of course a different matter. It's hardly admissable when it aims to topple the leadership of one country or another or if it resorts to economic or ideological sabotage. The job of an intelligence service is to supply its government with impartial information so that the government could take optimal decisions and that is what it should do. But, having said this, I would not like you to get the impression that intelligence services should act as rivals or enemies under any circumstances.

[Announcer] Could you give some examples of intelligence services having helped to promote mutual understanding among nations?

[Kryuchkov] Recently such examples have appeared. Take the problem of assuring the security of foreign

nationals and offices in one country or another. There have been precedence of the intelligence service of a given country acting on humanitarian grounds and issuing a warning about plans for terrorist attacks. And the same goes for combatting smuggling and the drug business. Terrorism respects no territorial boundaries. Regrettably the recent wave of terrorist attacks has not spared the Soviet Union. In the circumstances intelligence services in many countries can have common interests. And that leads them to planned contacts to the benefit of the citizens and states.

The KGB has been concentrating on combatting drug traffickers. For instance, it played a major role in a clamp down on a gang which transported drugs via the Soviet Union to Britain, Holland and Canada. Providing secure international communications is another problem. Unfortunately there have been more attacks on them lately and that has hit the interests of all nations. Also many objects of historical and cultural value have been smuggled across national borders. Here too the intelligence services must help one another. The KGB has repeatedly invited its foreign counterparts to establish such contacts. And hopefully they will at last give a response.

Kryuchkov Interviewed by Italian Daily

18001500 Rome L'UNITA in Italian
19 Aug 89 pp 6-7

[Interview with Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov by L'UNITA correspondent Giulietto Chiesa: "I Am in the Trenches with Gorbachev"]

[Text] Moscow—Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov is 65 years old, he was once a worker, later an investigative magistrate, a procurator, a diplomat. In 1956 he was in Hungary together with Yuriy Andropov, then ambassador to Budapest, and followed Andropov in all his successive career movements. In 1959 he returned to Moscow and entered the Central Committee apparatus where he became an aide-de-camp to the Central Committee secretary. When Andropov became president of the KGB in 1967, Vladimir Aleksandrovich also changed offices and moved to Dzherzhinskiy Square. He rapidly became one of Andropov's deputies and remained to control the situation when Andropov was nominated secretary general of the party. For many years he dealt with the most sensitive department: espionage and counterespionage. In the fall of last year Gorbachev brought him to the head of the powerful National Security Committee. He therefore succeeded Viktor Chebrikov, a member of the Politburo, and is for now, "merely" a member of the Central Committee. In the splendid studio which is accessible from the Kuznetskiy Bridge street, there are only two portraits: Lenin behind the desk, and Gorbachev on the front wall. A bust of Dzherzinskiy, chief of the Cheka, reigns at the center of the room. On the reading table, between two comfortable looking chairs, is a strange clock, with an external circular pendulum which oscillates around the dial like a mobile crown. The colors are subdued, light green, ocher. The windows face the interior courtyard of the new KGB building, the one that faces on the square to the right when looking at the old Lyubyanka. There are no noises except for the rain beating on the gutters outside. The telephone never rang during the interview. Sergey Vasiliyevich Dyakov, personal assistant to the president, received us in the lobby, smiling, and standing between two soldiers rigid in a military salute. Time allowed for the interview? Undetermined. At the end it will have lasted 2 hours. It is the first time that a chairman of the KGB has granted an interview to a foreign journalist, and he himself wants to stress this point, even before the questions begin.

[Kryuchkov] Let me welcome you and express my satisfaction for this conversation. I am happy to meet the L'UNITA correspondent, a paper known worldwide and esteemed by Soviet readers and Soviets in general. We appreciate the objectivity with which you follow the events of our perestroyka. Not everyone may like it, but that is normal. This is the first time that I have met a foreign journalist in this office, and the first time ever that I have spoken with an Italian journalist. For this reason I feel a particular responsibility.

[Correspondent] I thank you for the special courtesy shown to my newspaper and for your kind words. And I would like to start right off with the questions. The West has used rivers of ink on the organization which you head. It is a known fact that everything that is secret raises curiosity. But the deputies of the Supreme Soviet have also asked you many "indiscreet" questions. They too, like us Westerners, knew very little about the KGB, in spite of the fact that it plays a major role in eveything that happens in this country. What is your program to allow glasnost to also enter into your organization?

[Kryuchkov] I consider a substantial broadening of glasnost in KGB activities one of the principal measures of the KGB's perestroyka. Under today's conditions we cannot perform our functions successfully without being understood, supported and controlled by society. But, looking at history, we see that the principle of glasnost is not new for us. It was at the base of the "Cheka", the "extraordinary commission" founded by Lenin and Feliks Dzerzhinskiy. To support what I am saying I would like to cite a curious document, not published to date: Directive No 101 of the VTsK of 7 August 1920. Among other things it states that "it is necessary to pay attention to the information of those around us regarding the activities of the Cheka. Such a necessity is explained by the following: many criticize us, many erroneously describe our work, and very few really know it well. All of this reflects negatively on our actions, and this occurs because almost all the Cheka did not know how to properly use the local press. To eliminate this weakness, we propose that all the Cheka systematically illustrate their own activities in the local press organs and that they keep the workers more often informed." The document is almost 70 years old, but its ideas reach our turbulent times of perestroyka. Unfortunately, we

know there has been a phase in which the principle of glasnost had been forgotten. The consequences were tragic and they are felt even today. The causes were many. Perhaps Soviet power was still too fragile when at the beginning of the 1930's it underwent the terrible thrust of the cult of Stalin's personality. The institutions of the Soviet power, still in their formative stage, collapsed. Today the state security organs are ridding themselves of the weight of the distortions of the past. A lot has already been done, but a lot remains to be done. Unfortunately we often learn from our mistakes, but we have entered a more mature phase of perception of what surrounds us. We must be aware that we are an integral part of our society and that everything that happens within it will in many ways be reflected upon the KGB. We have therefore chosen a direction, beginning with a critical examination of the activities of our structures. Much of what has been in the past must be changed, some things must be given up. At the same time we must establish principles which will allow us to take the right road. One of these, the main one, is the extension of control on by the Supreme Soviet, within which was created a committee for defense and national security matters. You have justly spoken of a "program" to be implemented. We are implementing it, by increasing meetings with the people, by publishing more things, by adopting a different attitude towards criticism in our regard. But if someone tells you he likes to be criticized, don't believe him. Criticism is always painful, even if it contains something constructive.

[Correspondent] In this regard, how did you take deputy Yuriy Vlasov's presentation in congress?

[Kryuchkov] I must say that it left me with an unfavorable impression. I wished the ground had opened up and swallowed me. The other ministers around me were shaking their heads with compassion. But then I said to myself: we need to reflect. What could have happened to make Vlasov, the son of a man who, after all, was no stranger to state security organs, speak with such resentment and violence against the KGB? And—strange as it may seem—in a certain sense I suddenly began to think him right, even to justify him. I thought that he did not know very much about what we are doing now, or what we are planning to do. But I also thought: if all the Soviets are informed on the same level, it could mean that they all think in the same manner. Of course, his polemics on this building and the one next door, is not the real point in question. The real point is that the activities of the persons working within it are radically changing. So I convinced myself that we must shed more light, more glasnost. Recently it was proposed to me that I meet with Vlasov and talk to him. I do not exclude this possibility. We do not fear confrontations with anyone.

[Correspondent] Recently there have been many requests to enact a law that would regulate the functions of the KGB. What do you think about that?

[Kryuchkov] The program of constructing a legitimate socialist state, in the course of being realized, also implies the definition of fundamental legislative acts concerning the activities of the KGB. If in the future we want to avoid the events of the past, if we want to heal this collective, if we want to reduce the legal violations, or better yet prevent them, this is indispensable. In any civilized country laws play an essential role. Where there are no laws the arbiter rules. The law may be imperfect, but a bad law is better than no law. We too, of the KGB—I am telling you a secret—are working towards this goal. We will soon present a law to the Committee on Questions of Defense and State Security which will examine it in September. We would like the future law to be published in the press. We have worked with the committee on some aspects of this law, and have worked in parallel on other aspects. Both the law on state security and the one on the State Security Committee are at a stage of elaboration. Talking about the details of this law right now would be premature. Qualified jurists and experts are now working on it. As regards the general contents of the law, I can say that the principles of the activity of the KGB, the duties and functions of the committee, the rights and obligations of its functionaries, the placement of the KGB within the complex system of state security, and the relations between the Committee and social and state structures will all have juridical status. Obviously, we will also use the legislative experience of other countries. The laws being prepared will also contain precise guidance on the themes of the humanization of state authorities, of prevention and educational labor. But a juridical mechanism will be created that will establish in an unequivocal way the responsibility of those who bring detriment to the Soviet, social and state establishments.

[Correspondent] How do you judge the activities of the KGB during what you call the period of "stagnation?"

[Kryuchkov] I must say that it has not been the best period in our lives. On the contrary, some of our diseases, not having been cured, have become aggravated, and now we feel their effects. At that time people who in the West were being defined as "dissidents" were being called to justice. But I want to say here that we acted within the existing laws. It was not an ideal law, I agree, but if we had not acted within its sphere, the final consequences would have been far worse. At any rate, many of those who were judged based on that law, have today returned to a normal life, the injustice suffered by them has been eliminated.

[Correspondent] You are the first chairman of the KGB to undergo detailed questioning before parliament. How did you feel in this role of "controlled controller?"

[Kryuchkov] Using your terminology, many, especially in the West, continue to represent the KGB in the role of "controller", even though that is not at all the case. And besides, it is not the first time that I, and the committee which I head, have found ourselves in a controlled position. Nevertheless, I won't tell you that I sprouted wings from joy, nor that I was tranquil and without worries. After the deputies began to put me under fire

with their questions, I hoped at a certain point that after the hard questions the easy ones would follow. I waited in vain. It was the first time that state security organs had to account for themselves in front of such a large assembly. What's more, we were live on television, and I knew that millions of spectators, in the USSR and abroad, were watching the debate. I knew quite well that many of the things I was saying were a revelation for many, and that even the deputies of the Supreme Soviet were hearing them for the first time. Nevertheless, I must say that I had the impression that at the end, the atmosphere was more benevolent than at the beginning. I succeeded in explaining some things, and some things had been understood and accepted by the deputies. But it was also clear to me that many other things remained incomprehensible, even to the deputies, and that therefore it is necessary to work hard with glasnost so that this incomprehension will gradually disappear. But, of course, I couldn't tell everything, isn't that so? It would have meant damaging the efficiency of the Committee. There exists, you will understand, the concept of confidentiality.

[Correspondent] I would imagine that your diplomatic experience was very useful.

[Kryuchkov] It could be. But after having been a diplomat I became a party functionary, and this also helped me very much. Above all what helped me most were my life's experiences, and the principle of never isolating your own life from that of the collective with whom you work. I always tried to communicate with others, with people. From this I have always obtained a great many ideas. I have often worked with intellectually gifted people, of whom I retain good memories; the way of judging things, the smiles, the jokes. In conclusion, the debate within the Supreme Soviet was perhaps the hardest test of my life. For a very simple reason: it was not only a test of the knowledge of a single subject, but it was a general political exam. And politics is a very serious subject.

[Correspondent] In answering several questions asked by the deputies, you said that in the KGB there are delays, difficulties and resistance in converting into reality the principles of democratization and of perestroyka. What difficulties were you referring to and how can you explain them?

[Kryuchkov] What you are saying is all true. The state security organs—as I've already said—are an integral part of our society. Their history and future are inseparable from those of the society and the state. Therefore many of the problems existing in society are also present among us. Much has been done to overcome them, but the majority of the work still remains to be done. The difficulties I was referring to are above all effects of the inertia which is manifested in the way of thinking of certain functionaries, in repetitive habits, in entrusting oneself to stereotypes. But it must also be said that, at first glance, glasnost and state security organs are like ice and fire. They seem incompatible. And yet, that is only at first glance. I frankly say that democratization has allowed an enormous intellectual potential to be released among our collaborators.

[Correspondent] In this regard, are you satisfied with the level of preparation of your functionaries, and with the structures of the KGB?

[Kryuchkov] In general there are reasons to be satisfied, but there is always the problem of trying to keep up with what is going on in the world. And the present transformations are major ones. We have to enrich the professional, as well as the political and cultural knowledge of our cadres. Particularly in regard to the political profile, there is the need to extend the struggle. A struggle in the full sense of the word, because we have to be in a position to defend a political platform in confronting those who support another. That is why I believe that updating courses must be held with the participation of specialists, scientists and men of culture.

[Correspondent] While holding another office you had said that the West writes many lies about the KGB. And that often, both in the USSR and abroad, it is believed that the KGB is a sort of omnipotent eye that knows and sees everything. Instead, especially during the past two years, many things have been happening in the USSR which seem to have escaped the Committee's control. For example, Sumgait. For example, Fergana, Noviy Uzen, etc. How could it be possible that the local authorities were not aware of what was happening?

[Kryuchkov] It is not our objective to know everthing, also because that would be impossible. There are authorities which deal with the state power organs and the Soviet, the party and the social organizations. We function where developments and events go over certain limits and when security interests become involved. In the instances which you mentioned this border has been crossed. But it cannot be said that we knew nothing. On the contrary, we knew, but we did not have adequate perception. For us too, many things that happen in our country are unusual: demonstrations, agitations, strikes, individual criminal acts. They happened in the past too, but they heppened rarely, they were checked or they were only local. We must learn to deal with these situations, knowing that not everything can be handled with force. We must learn democracy and how to act with political methods. At Sumgait the security forces were taken by surprise. At Fergana we knew what was being prepared, but there was no adequate evaluation of it. At Noviy Uzen we knew a lot, but the local authorities were inert. I do not think that today the state security organs can resolve anything if they rely solely on their own forces: They need help from the citizens and the labor collectives. Glasnost and democratization will help us to stabilize closer contacts with people. A new relationship with the population is being established, there is a new attitude towards us and greater help. This is the way to improve our work. Our organizations must, in substance, be popular. This is one side of the question. The State Security Committee is certainly not a charity

organization. There, as in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, they are concerned with keeping order and when there is a need, it is necessary to intervene, and with decisiveness.

[Correspondent] What is the significance of the Supreme Soviet's recent decisions regarding public order, the creation of "temporary committees to step up the fight against crime"? What is the KGB's role in these committees? And what is the cause of this increase in crime that has been noted in the USSR?

[Kryuchkov] There has been a sharp increase in crime in the last two years. Nevertheless, we have still not reached your levels in the West. You still hold the record.

[Correspondent] I do not deny that our mafia has created an unenviable record...

[Kryuchkov] By the way, someone once asked me what the difference is between the mafia and organized crime. It seems to me that the mafia is a state within the state. We have not yet reached that point, but unless we take adequate measures we could reach it. There have been other phases when crime increased rapidly: for example right after the civil war, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and immediately after World War II. But the present dimensions of criminality force us to take extraordinary measures, if only because the people demand it. There are multiple causes. Let us take the cooperatives, for instance. Along with those positive ones that produce goods and services, there are also those that carry out intermediary functions, those that previously were speculation activities. The latter have accumulated huge amounts of money, so great that members earn up to 1,500 to 2,000 rubles a month, sometimes more. This is one of the causes. In addition we are in the thick of the reorganizion of our economy. The shortage of goods is the greatest difficulty, there is an pathological imbalance between the mass of money and the quantity of available merchandise. Money seems to appear from nowhere. It is a serious phenomenon which leads to inflation. And when profit comes too easily, crime may appear just as easily long with it. I think it is necessary to act energetically to re-establish order, eliminating the causes that create this criminality. It can be done in two ways. Through economic and financial measures and by stepping up the fight against the criminals. "Rackets," for instance, are completely new to us, in scale and in virulence, and there are no articles in the penal code that address it. We have to apply the article which punishes extortion, which provides for only 4 years of imprisonment. At the moment we have criminal groups that lack expertise, that are easily neutralized, but tomorrow the situation will be different. That is why we have to eliminate the causes, and when perestroyka has prevailed the situation will improve. But the essential thing is to take measures today, to prevent the disease from getting worse and infecting the organisms that are called upon to fight it.

[Correspondent] But in the case of the Uzbek mafia, the so-called "Gdlyan affair," there are none of the economic motivations of which you spoke. Even the party organizations were contaminated by this criminal virus.

[Kryuchkov] I would not want to talk about the "Uzbek case" because by so doing we would offend the Uzbeks. The first investigation began at the end of the 1960s, then others followed. The KGB took part in the investigations and brought to justice the intermediate and also the top levels of the republic. Large sums of money were recovered and sentences of capital punishment were passed for especially large thefts. At the beginning of the 1980s the investigation was transferred to the procurator's office and a short time after that it was entrusted to Gdlyan. I have already answered questions in parliament on this point and I would not want to go into it more deeply now because the special commission of the congress is working on it. I think it was right to create this commission, since, as Gdlyan maintains, the top leadership was involved in criminal activities. The examination should show to what extent that corresponds to reality. We in the KGB do not have this information. Here, though, is a serious aspect. It is also necessary to shed light on the legality of the actvity of the investigating magistrates, to examine carefully the investigation methods. I think that the commission's conclusions will be decisive and objective. No one will be exempt from the responsibilities that will be determined, but the innocent will be exonerated. One already has been: former Central Committee member Smirnov, who has been acquitted for lack of material evidence. Our examining magistrates also took part in the investigation and I was informed of that. He was defamed, even if from a strictly ethical point of view his actions can be censored. To sum up, he bought a certain thing and paid for it, but perhaps, given his official position, he should not have bought it. But, I repeat, it was not a crime. There is another aspect which must not be forgotten: the investigation must be carried out within certain time limits, one year, one year and a half at the most. Let's imagine someone in isolation, waiting for a trial for two, three, five years. A person's mind may snap. Therefore we have agreed not to publish articles on this question. I have the greatest respect for this commission's work. And if you should write about it, here is my friendly advice: do not draw hasty conclusions.

[Correspondent] Allow me to ask you a personal question. You worked for 30 years with Yuriy Andropov....

[Kryuchkov] Twenty-nine to be precise.

[Correspondent] Do you think that if Andropov had lived longer, he would have initiated perstroyka?

[Kryuchkov] Yes, I think so. He would have taken this path. He was perfectly well aware of the country's situation, he had been a party official, then he had been a diplomat, and, finally, he was head of the KGB for 15 years. He knew the party well and his position as head of

the KGB gave him access to a vast amount of information. All that helped him to form a realistic idea of what was happening in the country. His first acts as general secretary were aimed at restoring order, at increasing the activities of state institutions, the soviets, the party. You will recall his article in KOMMUNIST, in 1983, the centenary of Marx' death. Many things were already outlined there. In any case, Andropov understood very well that we would not make any progress unless we changed something in our economic and political mechanisms. I think that Andropov and Gorbachev had the same approach, the same ideology, perhaps even the same methodolgy for resolving the problems. They met many times. I must say that Mikhail Sergeyevich is a personality quite out of the ordinary, endowed with courage and great willpower. In general, if a leader wants to begin something new, all the more so if it involves something as extraordinary as perestroyka, he must be convinced that his choices are the right ones.

[Correspondent] One more personal question. The head of the KGB has often been a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. Do you think that this particularly prominent position should be reinstated? Or is the creation of a socialist "constitutional state" destined to change the special status of the state security committee in the party organisms?

[Kryuchkov] First of all, the KGB heads have not always been in the party's top leadership. I am a member of the Central Committee and for me this is a great honor and a great responsibility. Deputy Sobchak raised this same problem in the Supreme Soviet. You may not believe me, but, personally, I have a very calm attitude in this regard. I never thought I would be head of the KGB and when I heard rumors about it I thought: perhaps this wave will barely touch me. Instead it hit me directly. It is no accident that I responded to Deputy Lauristin by saying that I felt like a "candidate," not a "pretender." Anyway, it was not up to me to decide, but the party Central Committee and I have never expressed to anyone, under any circumstance, my point of view on this. We are educated to display modesty on any occasion, including nominations.

[Correspondent] Many people think and write that a threat to democratization may come from the KGB and the Army. What do you say to this? [Kryuchkov] Your question touches upon the old subject, old as the hills but still popular, of suspense stories, "secret plots" and "military coups d'etat." But I would like to answer it in all seriousness. In recent times, there has been frequent mention in the Western media of a certain "conservatism" and even "reactionary attitudes" on the part of the KGB and the Soviet Army, their intolerance and even their hostility towards the changes that are taking place in our country. There is no real basis for these suppositions. The organs of the KGB and the Army are closely linked with the people. They fully accept the program of perestroyka worked out by the CPSU and they are ready to support and defend it. Sad to say, it needs to be defended. The idea of a threat to democratization and to the changes coming from the KGB and the Army is not only expressed in the statements of a few Western ideologs. It is also widespread in our public opinion. The meaning of this is obvious: to insert a wedge between the people and the security organs. But, I'll speak frankly, it is a thankless and impossible task. From the foreign policy point of view, the purpose of this is to make more difficult and to block the positive development of the events generated by the new political thinking, which are largely pleasing to the peoples of the world. And so we can ask rhetorically the eternal question: what purpose does it serve?

[Correspondent] I am not so naive as to expect you to reveal your secrets to a Western correspondent. But I would like to know your opinion as a specialist. How do you judge the quality of your secret services: as superior, inferior, or equivalent to that of the Western services?

[Kryuchkov] In order to give a concrete and substantiated reply I would have to make a broad analysis. For understandable reasons, I will not do this. Moreover, as a specialist, I should refrain from making concrete evaluations, even though I have quite clear my sympathies. In my many years of working for the secret service—I have headed it for 14 years—I have often been asked: Which is the best secret service? Together with the KGB three or four well-known acronyms are usually mentioned. But these organizations cannot be compared for various reasons, because of the different political and professional principles of their activity, the moral orientations or work methods. Our secret services have never been characterized by violence, inhumanity, or disregard for human rights. As far as Soviet counter-espionage is concerned, in the last years it has identified and curtailed the criminal activity of about 30 foreign agents, all, so to speak, caught red-handed. You should ask the Western secret services if this number is small or large. Do I make myself clear? As far as the Western services are concerned, I can say that they are strong adversaries, whom we must take into account. In this context, the "spy-mania" campaigns, the inevitable search for "Moscow's hand," that are staged periodically in the West seem naive. What can they arouse in the international community, but mutual distrust? Nothing else. A question that invariably makes me curious on the strictly human plane is: how much do these campaigns cost society and how many "spies" have they helped capture?

[Correspondent] You have advocated publishing the KGB's budget. Has that been authorized?

[Kryuchkov] The KGB is in favor of publishing the budget. I think that when this is made known there will be an increase of respect for us from the public. However, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has to make this decision. I would like, however, to underline that some ideas going around in the West are obviously distorted, both about the budget and the number of employees of

this department. This too is an effect of a biased presentation of the KGB's activities. I often have the impression that the Western secret services, launching campaigns on the "excessive presence of the KGB abroad," are also pursuing their own interests, trying in this way to get increased funding to enlarge their own organizations.

[Correspondent] Are you, then, prohibited from telling me how many men you have? I mean everyone: border troops, secret agents, technical personnel, etc. [Kryuchkov] It has already been made known that the border troops (who belong to the KGB) are made up of 200,000 men. For the rest, this question is similar to the previous one. The publication of the KGB's budget will be justified if the Soviets know what kind of organization it helps to maintain. However, it is still necessary to define the amount of detail since, as in every other state, not all the figures concerning analogous organizations, given the specific nature of their functioning, are subject to the public domain. As you see, here glasnost is bound by the limits of professional secrecy.

[Correspondent] I agree that it is difficult in all countries to establish the demarcation line for secrecy as far as the "services" are concerned. But the problem is more serious for the KGB because the norms which govern it are not only old ones, but go back to a time when illegality was the norm. I would like to know what is happening now, when the new norms have not yet been approved.

[Kryuchkov] You are right in the sense that the quality of the laws determines the quality of the action of the security organs and the safeguarding of order. But there is no law —among those that govern the KGB—that goes back to the "times of illegality," as you put it. I can add that various laws have been prepared for examination by the Supreme Soviet: the fundamentals of penal and trial legislation, the law on crimes against the state, the law on crimes against the peace and security of mankind. All provisions that directly affect KGB activities. Recently the norm on agitation and anti-Soviet propaganda was abolished. Not a single person is now in custody for this crime. As you can see, there are many modifications. And I would like to conclude this answer with one last thought. Law, democracy and glasnost in the internal life of a country can only achieve their purpose if they are coupled with the desire for peace and openness in foreign policy. We hold to this.

[Correspondent] What are the activities of Soviet citizens that fall under the jurisdiction of the KGB?

[Kryuchkov] Only those linked to infringement of state security and are provided for by the existing legislation. The limits of the jurisdiction, for criminal acts, are governed by the codes of penal procedure (Article 126 of the RSFSR Penal Code and similar articles in the penal codes of the union republics). They concern primarily criminal acts of special danger to the state and some others. If you are interested in details, I will tell you that there are 18 types of crime which fall under the direct jurisdiction of the KGB and about 15 in which we conduct the investigations in agreement with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Procurator's Office. I must add that on behalf of the Procurator's Office, we take part, in certain cases, in investigations concerning criminal activities of a different nature. In relation to the complex program of struggle against organized crime the sphere of our activities is going to be extended.

[Correspondent] Who controls the KGB?

[Kryuchkov] It is a grave error to think that the KGB operates almost without control. Today the principal control is exercised by the highest organs of state power: the Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, both directly and through the Committee on Questions of Defense and State Security, the Constitutional Control Committee (from the moment of its institution), the USSR Council of Ministers. Control functions are also carried out by the Procurator's Office, in the realm of its functions, by the Ministry of Finance and other departments. Control of the state security organs, at least in the last two decades, developed in many directions: financial activity is controlled rigorously by the Ministry of Finance, the Council of Ministers monitors us in individual questions, organizes commissions and summons us to meetings. There is a very strict party control. For example, the removal, the dismissal of an official are possible only in the bounds of the law and the smallest element of arbitration is excluded. Likewise, the KGB's building activities are controlled,the training and selection of cadres. I do not think there is any state organization as strict as the KGB towards its employees. I will tell you that at one of the first meetings of the committee of the Supreme Soviet we very soon took up the problem of control. It holds for everyone, but for us it is more important, because if we make an initial mistake—and no one points it out to us—then it may turn into a great disaster. Politics is like hunting: the hunter takes aim, but the rifle barrel moves one millimeter and the bullet lands tens of meters from the target.

[Correspondent] Speaking of control, the tragic events in Tbilisi implicated—according to the subcommission of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia—both the local authorities and unidentified high-level managers in the Ministry of Defense. The KGB stayed out of the controversy. What is your opinion on this?

[Kryuchkov] The definitive conclusion has not yet been made known. As far as I know, while the events in Tbilisi were culminating, between 7 and 9 April, in Moscow there was complete ignorance of the action that was being planned. I know well that the decision was made on the spot, a very short time before the incident. If I am not mistaken, Moscow knew nothing the evening of 8 April about the operation, that started at 0400 on 8 April. When the events took place, (and this certainly does not put me or Gumbaridze, who was head of the Georgian KGB then, in a good light) we ascertained that the decision had been made just the night before, in

Tbilisi. Gumbaridze only heard of it 10-20 minutes before it happened. Yazov (USSR Minister of Defense) told me: something has happened down there, I must inform you, it seems that the troops have intervened. We will have to wait for definitive results, but I can attest, on the basis of data that we in the KGB have, that it was not a decision made in Moscow. It should not be forgotten that the atmosphere in the city was white-hot. Certainly it was a tragedy, a real tragedy. The situations may vary, but an operation of that breadth should have been prepared very carefully and carried out in such a way as to avoid victims.

[Correspondent] Your description of the events in Tbilisi shows that the law approved last fall by the Supreme Soviet, ratifying the "ukase" of July 1988, was violated. It concerned the use of troops of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs for purposes of public order and conferred the whole matter "exclusively" to the jurisdiction of that ministry. The law rigorously and explicitly bans any interference by local authorities. Now it turns out that no one in Moscow knew anything, not even the only person who should have made that decision, the Soviet internal affairs minister. But there is another aspect too. That law was approved with opposing votes by a group of deputies from the Baltic and other areas. There was also a dispute in the press, because it was said that this would deprive the local authorities their powers, cut them off. In the case of Tbilisi, it seems that it was precisely they who made the mistake, but there is still the question of principle....

[Kryuchkov] I will ask you another question. Imagine that a similar situation arises in a republic. Is it perhaps possible for the minister of internal affairs to decide to unleash the action, to use troops, without reaching agreement with the local authorities?

[Correspondent] I imagine that it is as you say, but I do not understand why the law prohibits local authorities from having a say in matters of public order. At least in the case of serious situations.

[Kryuchkov] It is necessary to apply logic to the interpretation of the law. How can the Soviet minister of internal affairs evaluate situations, from Moscow, without asking for the views and advice of local councils? The latter are the ones that know the situation at first hand and the minister must consult them before making any decision. It is unthinkable to act differently.

[Correspondent] Allow me to make an objection. A while back you stated that a bad norm is better than no norm at all. Precisely. But why, then, leave something up to logic that should be carefully spelled out? Why is it not written in the law that the interior minister must consult in advance with the local authorities? That way, any dispute would be eliminated, suspicions that Moscow wants to reserve the exclusive right to decide on such delicate things. But your considerations are also justified. What you maintain may be useful for improving legislative acts or those norms. Let's say this: you spoke constructively, you made an interesting observation.

[Correspondent] To change the subject. Can you tell me if terrorist acts organized abroad have been recorded in the Soviet Union? And do you think that the USSR's increased openness towards foreign countries may increase the probability of actions of this nature?

[Kryuchkov] In various historical phases of development of the Soviet state there have been acts of terrorism inspired from abroad. Today, too, there is a real danger of terrorism. That is confirmed by attacks against Soviet citizens and representations abroad, by the attempts to bring arms, munitions, explosives and poisonous substances into our country illegally. There are international terrorist organizations and individual criminals. The wave of terrorism that is shaking the world threatens us too. For this reason we welcome the development of contacts and exchanges with other countries, the extension of economic, cultural and other ties. But we cannot permit the "export" of terrorism into our home and we are taking all the measures necessary to defend the security of the Soviets. It is known that terrorism has gone beyond the borders of individual countries and has been transformed into a big international problem. It is only possible to resolve it by uniting the forces of different states. And that means that we cannot get to the bottom of the matter without cooperation by the special services. We are ready for this cooperation in the interest of people's security.

[Correspondent] As far as it is known, the USSR's self-imposed isolation is over. Now there is talk of interdependence. But in this field there still exist obstacles to cooperation between the KGB and analogous institutions of other countries. What are your programs in this regard?

[Kryuchkov] The Soviet state security organs are willing to cooperate with the special services of capitalist and third world countries, both in the fight against terrorism, and to weaken other criminal activities of international dimensions (contraband, narcotics trafficking, illegal currency traffic, etc.) What stands in the way of cooperation in these fields? I would say that it is the stereotypical reciprocal suspicions and unfamiliarity. But there have been steps taken forward which give some hope: work relations, examples of joint operations against drug trafficking, against airplane hijackings, etc. In our opinion, a particular danger can be found in nuclear terrorism. In fact, in spite of the measures now in effect, the eventuality that nuclear arms may end up in terrorist hands is not to be excluded. In such an event, whole countries may find themselves in a hostage position. There is only one way out: increase contacts, work on ways to cooperate in the face of emergency situations, improve liaison channels, prepare legal bases for international accords. I am sure that the increase and diversity of these interactions will represent a deterrent for potential terrorists.

Yeltsin 'Indisposed,' Dismisses Attack Rumors

PM1810121389 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 42, 15 Oct 89 p 2

[Report by "S.M." under the rubric "Muscovites Talking": "What Happened to Yeltsin?"]

[Text] For several days now MN [Moscow News] has been receiving calls from worried readers who ask: Is it true that hooligans attacked Boris Yeltsin, and that he is in grave condition?

We addressed the Main Administration of Internal Affairs of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee. According to V. Bondarev, deputy head of the department for the preservation of public law and order, rumours have also reached the Main Administration of Internal Affairs on the alleged incident, but the Moscow militia has no information about it.

So MN had to address Yeltsin himself. He picked up the receiver in his flat:

"I already know about this new wave of rumours, which I have had to get used to. At the moment I'm a little indisposed. Apparently I caught a cold in America, and now have to stay at home."

Donetsk Mine Strike Leader Reportedly Murdered

LD1910124789 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] A member of the union of strikers' committees of the Donetsk coal mining area, (Aleksandr Sotnimkov), has been murdered. He vigorously worked to expose corruption at his mine and had been receiving death threats.

The local law enforcements agencies have launched investigations. Miners have sent cables to President Gorbachev and to members of the Supreme Soviet pressing for the most careful investigation of the murder they qualified as political.

Ukrainian Party Proposes Congress for Sep 1990

LD1810190789 Moscow TASS in English 1849 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Kiev October 18 TASS—The Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party's Central Committee has proposed convening the 28th congress of the republic's party in September 1990, Ukrainian party chief Vladimir Ivashko announced here today.

He was speaking at a plenary meeting convened in Kiev to discuss the fulfilment of decisions by the September, 1989 plenum of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee.

Ivashko stressed the move towards democratisation in party life, which involves overcoming the ossified hierarchy and establishing a free exchange of views, constructive criticism and informal leadership.

"New people and new ideas are required," he said. "The principle of choice between constructive programmes, intentions and plans of action must prevail."

The party chief revealed that 6,200 people left the Ukrainian Communist Party this year. "This is a new phenomenon in party life, but it should not be overdramatised," he said.

The process of self-purification is natural and necesary, Ivashko observed. Among those who left the party are careerists and time-servers, as well as politically immature people.

42,800 people became party candidate members over the same period. They joined the party at a difficult time despite attacks against the party and attempts by certain forces to set people against the party and keep it away from political leadership.

Democratisation envisages the greater intitiative and independence of each party organisation and party committee, Ivashko said. One has to give up the habit of always waiting for instructions from above.

Republican Communists will continue to cooperate with all forces committed to socialism, perestroyka and friendship of peoples inhabiting [illegible] USSR, he assured.

They will resolutely expose those who reject the socialist choice, seek to discredit the party and propagate separatism and national isolation.

In his report Ivashko concentrated on perfecting the Soviet federation and inter-ethnic relations.

In the Ukraine, inhabited by people of nearly 90 nationalities, language problems are a top priority, he said.

Party, government and public organisations are rectifying mistakes that occurred in the past. National cultural societies of Poles, Hungarians, Jews, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, Germans and Turkic peoples have been set up in the republic.

The republican Supreme Soviet will consider a bill on languages at a session next week.

Ivashko supported action taken by the September plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. It rejected the idea of federalism in the party structure. The division of Communists along ethnic principles would lead to a considerable weakening of the party's role in society, he emphasised. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 18 October broadcasts a similar report on Ivashko's report to the Ukrainian Central Committee plenum and adds the following: "The plenum elected Gurenko as second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. Gurenko previously worked as a secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee."]

Ukrainian Premier Interviewed by Arabic Daily

PM0210102089 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 28 Sep 89 p 8

[Interview with Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Valentina Shevchenko, by Sami 'Imarah in Moscow; date unspecified]

[Text] ['Imarah] How is the Ukraine today, now that its foremost leader [Vladimir Shcherbitskiy] has vacated his Politburo seat?

[Shevchenko] Conditions in our republic are normal and we must now continue and move beyond that. The Ukrainian [Communist] Party Central Committee meeting has still not been held, but it will take place very shortly. We will choose First Secretary Shcherbitskiy's successor, since the time has come for him to rest. He is 71 now and must retire, especially as he has done a great deal for the Ukraine.

['Imarah] The Ukraine has always been represented in the Politburo. What will happen now that it has lost its representative in the highest level of power in Moscow?

[Shevchenko] The natural thing is to choose the person who will replace First Secretary Shcherbitskiy as party leader and represent us in the Politburo. I do not believe that a party such as the Ukraine's, which comprises 3.5 million members, will be denied the right to representation in the Politburo.

['Imarah] The Soviet scene is bustling with movements and changes. How is the Ukraine in that regard, especially following the establishment of "Rukh," the People's Movement, which comprises some 300,000 members?

[Shevchenko] A dialogue is being conducted at various levels between party members and local councils and with representatives of all groups. But I believe that the Rukh movement cannot be considered to represent the Ukraine's interests or the Ukrainian people as a whole. The republic has a population of 52 million inhabitants, the majority of them workers and farmers. The "People's Movement," however, includes only 106 workers and 16 farmers among its ranks. It is logical for a movement calling itself "People's Movement" to include representatives from all groups of people. And any people's movement must have a program to unite the forces of all groups in order to eliminate all the aspects of stagnation which have befallen our society and to settle all social, economic, and political issues. However, I would say that a dialogue has been initiated with that movement, and that, too, is a natural thing.

['Imarah] The establishment of the People's Movement perhaps confirms reports that the party has begun to lose its positions, especially since the movement includes party members. Is that not right?

[Shevchenko] Article VI of the Soviet Constitution is still valid and stipulates that the Party still has the leading role in the state—and this must be taken into account and implemented. But matters will depend first and last on how conditions change within the Party and on the implementation of perestroyka at the Party level so as to coincide with the perestroyka which the country as a whole is experiencing and which has set the Party new tasks. Today we must work among the masses, open up to them, and lay the foundations for a dialogue with them. It must also be said that the Party has done a great deal, and what it has done cannot be ignored. Today life presents us with many new tasks and the Party must absorb them and strive its utmost to ensure that the masses remain rallied around it, if it wants to preserve its leading role.

['Imarah] Many say that the emergence of the People's Movement and so-called "official organizations" reflects the masses' support for a multi-party system against a one-party system. What is your comment?

[Shevchenko] I do not agree with you on that. In the Ukraine there are 52 million inhabitants, and I do not believe that the People's Movement, "Rukh," enjoys major support. True, "Rukh" has a resounding name—the "People's Movement"—but it will not be able to do anything without an effective program to rejuvenate society. Such a program does not exist at the moment. The movement has done nothing but focus its campaign on the negative aspects facing the country and the problems which emerged during the stagnation period. I repeat that I am certain that no movement or organization can achieve any success without a program that meets the masses' requirements and without working to satisfy their aspirations.

['Imarah] But the peoples' movements and fronts in the Baltic republics receive overwhelming support from the masses.

[Shevchenko] What I can say is that what is happening in the Baltic republics, and in the country in general at the national level, was the central topic of the proceedings of the Party Central Committee meeting, which was held especially to discuss that national issue. All participants agreed on the need to bolster and strengthen the USSR. There is may be a need for new formulas and methods to bolster or rejuvenate that union through various constructive proposals—this is the task being imposed today.

['Imarah] Finally, as a Ukrainian leader, how do you see conditions in the Chernobyl area, and what is the truth amid the big uproar?

[Shevchenko] Chernobyl... Chernobyl (the republic's leader paused a while before continuing with an expression full of sadness) Chernobyl... a disaster which has affected us all. It causes us all grief today. I personally lived through that catastrophe, and there have been many articles about that problem. I have borne a great deal over the past period. I have done my utmost to alleviate the sufferings of mothers and children, especially since Chernobyl is in my electoral constituency.

Whenever I visit it I face new problems. Everyone's attention is fixed on seeking answers to the questions that emerge daily. All these things make us believe that science is not yet ready to answer all these questions. The scientists are busy studying the severity of the problems, and the doctors are at work. We have opened a new scientific institution for radiology, and efforts today are centered on studying conditions in the area after the disaster and on safeguarding citizens' lives.

Ukrainian Party Ideology Chief Discusses Rukh

18001703 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 28 Sep 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk, chief of the Ideological Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA special correspondent O. Gusev, in Kiev; date not given: "An Autograph for the Opponent, or on the Benefits of Direct contacts"]

[Text] There is currently much talk in the Ukraine about Rukh—this is the name of the new social organization, the People's Movement of the Ukraine (NDU) for perestroyka, recently created at a constituent congress in Kiev. Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk has to enter into direct contacts and discussions with the participants of this movement. Working with opponents of this kind is not easy: At times, both parties break out in a sweat. Less gentlemanly situations also occur: For instance, I saw myself how the mere mention of his name at some meetings of the members of informal organizations resulted in noise on the floor and shouts: "Again a defender of the party apparatus is given the floor." He caught it in more or less the same context from the broadcasts of foreign radio "voices." I have heard criticism of him from, so to speak, the opposite flank: "Why is a party functionary flirting with Rukh members? Look at it, he is signing autographs on their draft NDU program, on an invitation card..."

This is how our conversation with Leonid Makarovich began.

He responded by asking me another question: "What is so unusual about this? Indeed, people wearing Rukh pins asked me for autographs many times both in the auditorium and in the lobby of the congress of the People's Movement of the Ukraine (NDU). In the process, some of them gave a very mundane explanation of the request: "Your signature will confirm my personal attendance at the meetings."

...Here is an interesting detail. It is, after all, essential that the opponents, at times furious opponents, go for a direct contact with representatives of the party committees. Kravchuk does not evade a difficult, sharp, honest argument either. This movement cannot be called universal even from the technical point of view: The producers of material assets are a minority. Among 1,109 delegates of the congress, there were 109 workers, 16 representatives of rural areas, 5 students, and 1 prosecutor... It appeared that the congress could set an example of new approaches to public life. However, representatives of the intelligentsia displayed anything at all here but not an example of parliamentary behavior: There were quite a few stupid shouts, and more than just foul language, and the stomping of feet... The intolerance of the delegates for the mass media whose publications did not suit them for one reason or another was striking.

"Indeed, at the Rukh congress pluralism did not always get to be in fashion. As in any political movement, there are both progressive and regressive forces in the NDU. It is extremely important to find optimal ways for consolidating all our efforts in the struggle for accelerating the pace of perestroyka in the Ukraine," L. Kravchuk believes. "Rukh leaders enjoy great prestige, and it could have been used more fully create a businesslike, constructive environment at the congress, which would have ruled out rude attacks on the party and Soviet power, and to consolidate the positions of all healthy forces. It is certainly easier to build an image of 'the enemy' and start right away at least a moral skirmish with him than to try to understand in-depth the position of your opponent. Unfortunately such devices were in use at the congress.

"It is a pity that under such circumstances some representatives of party organs behaved quite inertly, sluggishly, or at times altogether abandoned the arena of debate. They also lack tolerance and arguments at times. All of us have to learn mutual tact and the ethics of argument. In all honesty, we should say that the aggressiveness of some speakers is explained also by the harshness of discussions on the Rukh in the republic and local press.

"Demands were voiced at the congress to ensure the complete independence of the Rukh from any and all echelons and organizations, and at the same time there was talk about the need for businesslike cooperation with the party. Both drew applause. Meanwhile, I could not help thinking that the platform from which the Rukh proceeds was poorly prepared even from the purely theoretical point of view despite the representatives of intelligentsia from Kiev, Lvov, and other cities having spent many months working to develop it...

"The people have discerned everything precisely—the bias in covering what is underway in our society at present, the fueling of nationalist passions by some functionaries who have latched on to the Rukh and the justification of all kinds of extremist demands by them, the slight nature of a number of principles. Many letters and telegrams from the workers were sent to the Central Committee of the CPUk [Communist Party of the Ukraine]. The people are increasingly often asking the question 'Where is the Rukh headed, and what does it call for?' for the very reason that the Rukh still has not distanced itself from extremist elements."

[Gusev] These are not random questions.

[Kravchuk] Definitely. We have been trying to come up with answers to them from the very first days after the completion of work of the NDU congress. Rapid response and arguments have a special significance in this matter. For example, in the auditorium where the congress met I happened to hear many times that the present-day Ukraine is a "fleeced " republic of sorts, from which coal, metal, and grain are taken away to the detriment of of its citizens, and so on, and so forth. However, here are some statistics describing interrepublic links on the basis of a balance of intersectoral flows which were quoted at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum: The share of imported industrial products in the overall republic consumption of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] amounted to 26 percent in 1987.

Unfortunately the economic, social, as well as political awareness of the broad masses of the populace still leaves a lot to be desired on many occasions. We are definitely not doing a good job in this sphere. Or let us look at the meetings which party committees have been organizing in Kiev and a number of other cities in order to counter the meetings of informal organizations which are frequently in opposition to the authorities. Putting it bluntly, they are too scripted, the speakers frequently cannot deviate from prepared texts, and the appeals voiced here every now and then, unfortunately, do not elicit a genuine response from the audience. Of course, some of the blame for this devolves on the Central Committee of the CPUk, oblast and rayon committees of the party. I believe that any specific proposal would be given much more support by such an audience than the most correct words. On many occasions, we begin to act only after one unpleasant event or another and appear as people commenting on it or evaluating it. Meanwhile, we have to meet them well prepared, go out to face any opponent and any acute situation. However, in practice you see all the time hundreds of agitated people arguing, for example, in downtown Kiev, in October Revolution Square. These discussions are organized by the same members of informal organizations rather than by representatives of party committees of enterprises, institutions, and colleges of the capital of the Ukraine, or, ultimately, the Kiev City Party Committee. Exceptions are very rare.

[Gusev] That is, Leonid Makarovich, you want to say: a party functionary should live within topical situations of the day and definitely find positive solutions in the course of the debate rather than happen upon such situations occasionally?

[Kravchuk] Exactly. As Horace wrote in his time, "today we should say everything that needs to be said today; the rest ought to be postponed and said at an appropriate time." We clearly state this for the Rukh members: Proceeding from the fact that the emergence of the NDU is a consequence of perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost which are implemented on the initiative and under the guidance of the CPSU, party organizations of the republic would like to view the Rukh as their natural and active ally in the cause of renewing our society.

Naturally, we are prepared to meet the progressive forces half-way, cooperate with them for the good of the cause; however, in all of that we are categorically against confrontation and instigating emotions which interfere with the cause. We are in favor of uniting all creative forces of progress and organizing a broad public dialogue on the basis of socialist pluralism. However, we are also in favor of drawing a strict distinction from destructive, extremist forces. Idle talk, meetings, denunciations, and accusations—we have an abundance of this. However, it is, perhaps, more important to evaluate faster the usefulness of the road you are traveling rather than delve into the situation in which you now find yourself. In the process, they need to think increasingly often about what actually happens during the attempts to solve all problems all at once by "cavalry raids," by the emotionally agitated pressure. Extremism which fills the gaps in knowledge and analysis, truth and realism, is particularly dangerous in politics where, in the words of Stefan Zweig, "deliberate diligence always gets the upper hand over unbridled force, a carefully developed plan over improvised fits, and realism over romanticism."

[Gusev] In other words, this kind of emotional intolerance sooner or later results in a social weakness rather than a social force?

[Kravchuk] We may put it that way. The weakness only serves to frustrate the cause and slows down the movement. Now the problems of rebirth of ethnic self-awareness and enhancement of the sovereignty of republics, including, naturally, the Ukrainian SSR are, as they say, the talk of the town. However, some people see a new, realistic opportunity for such sovereignty within the framework of perfecting the Soviet socialist federation on the basis of principled provisions of the CPSU platform, "Nationality Policy of the Party Under Contemporary Conditions," adopted by the September (1989) plenum. I am in favor of such sovereignty, without restrictions, without regimentation in the part which concerns the jurisdiction of the republic. Others see a panacea in "the unfettered and free Ukraine" which would break away from the USSR forever. I am convinced that in this matter only one solution is possible: Live and work in the united commonwealth of the peoples of the USSR, develop and reinforce everything that brings about the accord of people.

All of us have understood what losses befell the Ukrainian language and all of republic culture in the years of Stalinism and stagnation. It is no accident that at present the public in the Ukrainian SSR speaks out with increasing vigor in favor of broadening the sphere of application of the Ukrainian language and unambiguously in favor of proclaiming it to be the state language. However, in the process the dissimilarity of views on the Ukrainian-ethnic language communication becomes apparent, especially in the areas of compact settlement of national minorities, e.g., in the Donbass and Crimea

where millions of people speak Russian. With this in view, the draft Law on the Languages in the Ukrainian SSR provides for the principle of voluntary choice of the language of instruction and language of communication. Naturally, at the state and business level the state language is used.

The most valuable aspect is in the definitive main position: The Ukrainian language will become the state language only if it is not introduced forcibly. The great language of Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko cannot assert itself at the expense of infringing on other languages. I believe that it is important not only to call for loving the Ukrainian language but to also create it, at the same time taking care of defending the native tongue everywhere. Certainly this is the priority, direct task of writers and all creative arts intellectuals in the Ukraine, and also in all other republics of the USSR.

Since we are on the topic of language and culture, I would refer to one more case. The idea of developing a comprehensive program for the development of Ukrainian national culture until the year 2005 has been received with much interest and approved by the broad circles of the public in our republic. However, strange as it is, creative arts unions are in no hurry to join this work whereas the presidium of the Academy of Sciences, a number of scientific organizations, and the Ministry of Culture already have done so vigorously. Please note that the Kiev Regional Conference of the NDU for Perestroyka has altogether disregarded this problem.

[Gusev] I would like to refer once again to the ethics of discussion. We call for it all the time while the cases of its absence become increasingly numerous. At the Rukh congress mentioned above, the opponents called their adversaries "reactionaries," "traitors," etc. when they got carried away.

[Kravchuk] I am convinced that it is better to fight not one against the other but together for the common cause. However, these words were spoken at the Rukh congress, after all: "Time has imperiously raised the issue of 'who comes out on top?'" These are words which call for struggle. In this case, how can we reconcile the calls to cooperate with the party and the defamation of the party which individual delegates of the NDU congress have allowed themselves? There may be differences in views and alternative opinions regarding specific problems; in a word, let there be a discussion, but without unconstitutional manifestations, without antisovietism, without malicious attacks on socialism. I am convinced that the people will not accept the attempts of some "advocates of the common good" to propagate their own harmful views and orientation under the guise of pluralism.

[Gusev] The attitude toward the CPSU is one of the main issues which is discussed a lot at various levels, including within the ranks of the Rukh: As is known, 224 communists and 4 candidate party members were delegates at the Rukh congress.

[Kravchuk] This is a most important issue. Party members are exactly the ones who need to define their identity within the Rukh as precisely as possible. Indeed, it is difficult to explain to the people who frequently ask about this at meetings and in the letters why there are party members in the Rukh who speak out against the party. This is obvious nonsense whichever way you look at it. I believe that there is no room for oppositionists of this ilk in the ranks of the CPSU. It is another matter if a member of the CPSU belonging to the Rukh does not surrender his party position there as well and is responsible to the party for his activities.

A wise man said that one can serve the motherland by beautiful speeches as well, but the really beautiful service to it is through good deeds. This is why only those who turn out to be capable of united actions in the name of perestroyka and socialism can and should receive support of all kinds from the people. This fully applies to the Rukh. As I see it, the Rukh should pay particular attention to looking for common ground and avenues of cooperation with the actually operating authority. The Rukh can and has a duty to help it by showing initiative, including legislative initiative. It would be unreasonable not to take advantage of this opportunity.

The common opinion is that the publication of the alternative draft Ukrainian SSR Law "On the Elections to the Organs of People's Power in the Ukrainian SSR" proposed by the Rukh has become a manifestation of genuine pluralism in this matter. The very first responses to it note that the draft is disappointing because it contains a number of provisions which represent a step backward even when compared with the legislation on elections currently in effect. At the same time, individual provisions of it merit attention as proposals for the Law on the Elections of People's Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR which is also being widely discussed in the republic.

This once again reinforces my personal opinion that the desired future cannot be created without identifying in a timely manner and carefully protecting its embryos at present in their entirety and individual variety. This is why looking for ways which render the stratification of our society impossible and facilitate its accelerated transformation along the lines of perestroyka is as noble a task for all progressive forces as it is responsible.

[Gusev] They say that during a conversation in the lobby of the congress you, Leonid Makarovich, not only happened to give dozens of interviews but also found yourself in unexpected situations. Thus, one of the participants in the congress, apparently acting with the best intentions, pinned a little flag with the national yellow and blue symbols on the lapel of your jacket somewhat below your the badge of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

[Kravchuk] Indeed, there was such an episode, as well as many arguments concerning a number of the elements of symbols, beginning with the trident and through the

yellow and blue, or as they also say here, "zhovto-blakitnyy" [yellow and blue in Ukrainian] flags and armbands. In this matter, not only the emotions but also the real actions of Rukh members cannot but cause surprise. Here I am, standing on the rostrum, and suddenly I see two flags on the pedestal: the zhovto-blakitnyy one and the red and blue state flag; on the floor there was a multitude of blue and yellow flags and pennants. I admit that it is very unpleasant for me personally to witness the lonely state flag of the Ukrainian SSR. I will it put it bluntly, it is unfair, and it is politically tactless. All of us should remember that real forces and real people are behind these flags and these colors; these flags should not be brought together, nor is it admissible to bring the people together. Euphoria in this case, as well as in any similar case, is plainly dangerous, and, I am convinced, it is incomprehensible for the people who strive to take advantage of the rights of genuine sovereignty of the Ukraine first of all and exclusively within the united family of the people of all nations and ethnic groups of the USSR. Such hopes are seen, among others, in a majority of responses sent to the party organs in conjunction with the decisions of the September (1989) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the report to it by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M.S. Gorbachev. Their essence is: Internationalism has been and remains the central mainstay of the world view of the Soviet people, the ideological creed of party members.

Undoubtedly the ideas and provisions of the party platform will be a favorable influence on curing the political situation in the country and will provide the foundation for solving all emergent problems constructively, including those in interethnic relations.

Kiev Area Rayispolkom Offers Resignation

90UN0012A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 30 Sep 89 p 2

[Report by staff correspondent O. Gusev: "Ispolkom Resigns"]

[Text] This news, rather frightening for many leaders, recently circulated the Ukrainian capital: The Zhovtnevyy rayispolkom [rayon soviet executive committee] decided to resign as a body.

Its chairman, B. Kozhanov, published an article in the local press which was recently republished in IZVESTIYA. Its essence consisted of the following. The rayispolkom is not economically able to administer the economy under its jurisdiction well. For this reason, those who appeal for assistance here frequently encounter rejection, and they then turn their anger on not only the ispolkom [executive committee], but all of Soviet power. This occurs because, while resolutions alone raise the position and authority of the local soviets, there is no legislative support. Continuing to work under such circumstances is extremely difficult...

The chairman undoubtedly raised the burning questions of the day, but was this particularly demonstrative form of protest justified?—I queried several representatives of the city authorities.

"Hardly," said N. Lavrukhin, first deputy chairman of the Kiev gorispolkom [city executive committee]. "More attention must be paid to the local soviets, and not just to Zhovtnevyy, and to the use of personal reserves and work force."

"And where the leadership's opinion can really be supported unconditionally is in the appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet Session with an urgent request to accelerate the development of the law on local soviets," noted S. Martynok, second secretary of the Kiev party gorkom. "But the collective 'request to resign,' in my view, is nothing more than an attempt to score points with future voters, as well as a lack of the necessary balance during the development of the paths to realization of local problems.

The ispolkom's resignation was not accepted. All standing commissions of the rayon soviet came out against such a form of protest, calling it not constructive.

Yerevan Radio Reports Arrivals of Trains

NC1810132789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 18 Oct 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] According to an ARMENPRES report published in the paper, the republic's State Committee of People's Control has reported that on 16 October alone 15 trains with a total of 607 railcars entered Armenia through (?Norashen) station while 3 trains with a total of 155 cars entered through Idzhevan station. All the trains traveled over Azerbaijan railways. Our republic [passage indistinct]. It was stated at the Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasian railways that as of 1500 Moscow time on (?17) October, 16 (?trains) with a total of 750 railcars loaded with various commodities had arrived in Armenia.

Stepanakert Station Resumes Work

NC1910093389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] The railway station in Stepanakert resumed work following the blockade by Azerbaijan of the only railroad leading into the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. It is gradually receiving trains carrying various commodities. On 16 October, the oblast received 15 containers of fuel; of which 10 were diesel and 5 gasoline.

However, it is still early to make (?optimistic) assessments because this stock will last for only a few days. Fears by the NKAO manufacturing workers appear justified.

The next day, the trains brought no cars carrying fuel; the railcars were basically loaded with building materials [words indistinct].

It is rare for railcars to arrive undamaged at their destinations. Since the beginning of September, Azerbaijan has not allowed any railcars carrying foodstuffs to enter the autonomous oblast. The flour, sugar, preserves, and other foodstuffs destined for NKAO are held beyond its borders and are being used to bring economic pressure on Artsakh [NKAO] in order to force the people of Artsakh to abandon their political struggle for reunification with Armenia.

A special meeting held at the Stepanakert party city committee discussed the prevailing situation. The participants at the meeting proposed urgent measures to ensure provisions for the population, to handle the rail freight in a cooperative manner [word indistinct] as far as possible, and to effectively utilize road transportation.

Damaged Goods Arrive

NC1910091489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] In recent days dozens of railcars have arrived from Azerbaijan to Leninakan carrying damaged construction materials, vandalized prefabricated houses, and rotten foodstuffs. For example, 8 of 12 railcars arrived with rotten potatoes while 15 railcars of cement were completely unuseable. All railcars carrying prefabricated houses have been vandalized. Because of fuel shortages, freight unloading and transportation has become difficult.

Damage to Railcars, Freight Reported

NC1910094489 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Yerevan, 18 Oct (ARMENPRES)—For the period 13-15 October, 50 trains composed of 2,625 railcars have entered Armenia through Norashen station and 7 trains composed of 333 railcars have entered through Idzhevan station. They have primarily carried construction materials.

The Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasian Railways stated that the reception of fuels and foodstuffs is still meager. Many incoming railcars are damaged, certain foodstuffs are rotten, and some tankcars are empty. A substantial number of the prefabricated houses have been vandalized.

The train movement schedules are being crudely violated along the Azerbaijani railways thus postponing the arrival of freight in Armenia.

A joint effort is underway among the Armenian State Committee for Material-Technical supply, ministries, supervisory boards, production units and enterprises to rapidly unload arriving freight.

57 Die as IL-76 Crashes in Azerbaijan

LD1910103189 Moscow TASS in English 1024 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—An IL-76 military transport plane crashed in Azerbaijan on the evening of October 18, Killing seven crew members and 50 passengers.

The plane was transporting paratroopers of the Transcaucasian military district in Azerbaijan to restore order.

Military authorities are investigating the reasons for the crash. The USSR Ministry of Defence expressed condolences to the families of the deceased.

Resolution Issued on NKAO Shooting Incident

NC1910103489 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 18 Oct 89

["Decision of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Concerning the Tragic Incident in Stepanakert City"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Soldiers from units subordinate to the USSR Interior Ministry's used weapons against the peaceful population of the city of Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], on 10 October 1989, and as a result one person was killed and five wounded.

The months-long blockade of the NKAO, the deteriorating situation of the Armenian population, the growing interethnic tension, and the failure of the central authorities to take timely measures to solve the NKAO problem have created an explosive situation in the region which threatens the lives of thousands of peaceful citizens.

The absence of guarantees for the security of the NKAO's Armenian population is engendering justified resentment in Armenia and in all Armenian people.

The Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] has decided:

1. To condemn the use of weapons by the units subordinate to the Interior Ministry against the peaceful population of the city of Stepanakert.

2. To form a commission made up of the deputies of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and public representatives to investigate this tragic incident and submit its findings to the Armenian Supreme Soviet session and make them public through the media.

3. To raise before the USSR Supreme Soviet the suggestion that a deputies' commission be formed including the representatives of the Armenian SSR and the NKAO to study this tragic incident.

4. To ask the USSR Interior Ministry and USSR Defense Ministry to inform the local authorities beforehand

about troop movements in view of the region's current tension in order to avoid further such incidents.

[Signed] G. Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet; and N. Stepanyan, secretary of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. 15 October, 1989; Yerevan City.

Troops' Role in Nagorno-Karabakh Discussed

LD1910153889 Moscow TASS in English 1443 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Stepanakert, October 19, (TASS)—A state resembling a state of emergency has been in force in the Nagorno-Karabakh region and the Agdam District in the Azerbaijan Republic for over 18 months. Tension persists in the region even these days.

People are tired of the permanent tension, many are angry and are ready for reckless actions. "Under present conditions, interior troops are a factor containing passions," Major-general V. Safonov, military commandant of the special district, said recently.

Telephones ring continuously at the commandant's office of the special district: A car was fired on, a truck convoy was showered with stones, a roadblock is being built, etc. Staff officers respond to calls at once.

In turn, they call section commandants and unit commanders, dispatching mechanised patrols and sending helicopters. They do their best to prevent clashes.

People turn to the commandant's office because of lack of confidence in the local authorities, believes Colonel V. Skorobogatov, chief of the special district Political Department.

Ethnic strife aggravated relations between the two peoples and disrupted their peaceful life. Many letters to the commandant's office contain requests to help with an exchange of flats, transportation of household articles from one community to another and with pensions.

There are many requests concerning job placements and for assistance to refugee families. Much time is given to economic problems, including supplies of food, medicines, fuel and lubricants.

Nevertheless, the main task of troops in the special district is to prevent ethnic clashes and to maintain law and order.

Soldiers do not sleep very often 24 hours a day and have no hot meals. Many live in tents even now. But they understand that their privations are necessary to protect peace and the lives of women, children and the aged.

The commandant's office of interior forces set up in the region has become a reliable protector of both Armenians and Azerbaijanis. However, the present situation is temporary. It is impossible to reconcile the two peoples by force: They should reach mutual understanding.

Report on Situation at Stepanakert Airport

LD1710223189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] [Announcer] The interethnic problems in Nagorno-Karabakh touch with their sharp edge on all spheres of life in the autonomous oblast and are unhealthily reflected in all matters and affect every person. And here the complicated issue of the work of Stepanakert Airport has, perhaps not originally but radically, been resolved by servicemen. Listen to this report by Sergey Omelchenko, our special corespondent:

[Omelchenko] Stepanakert Airport is not large and until quite recently was very quiet. For the last 2 years it has been seething like a large airport in the capital. Passenger flows have increased, refugees have departed, servicemen have arrived. Now produce, above all flour and fuel, is being carried by transport planes. The last time I arrived here, about a month ago, there was the usual airport bustle but this time I was surprised by the almost impeccable order at the airport. This, as I discovered, was provided by students of the Minsk college of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Begin recording] [Tyashkeyevich] I am Stanislav Ivanovich Tyashkeyevich, militia major, teacher and candidate of sciences.

[Omelchenko] Stanislav Ivanovich, you are now the commander of Stepanakert Airport. What are your service's problems here?

[Tyashkeyevich] There are very many refugees, very many people want to leave but the airport is having difficulty dealing with this task. For this reason, we found the only way out was for our subdivision to virtually take over the function of the airport's administration. We are ourselves resolving the issue of registration, we are putting ourselves forward as heads of the airport, we are resolving flight issues, and so on. In this way we are supporting public order. We have had many good references. People say thank you for the order. This is, of course, pleasant for us.

[Omelchenko] But all the same, the militia school should be occupied with its own business, should study—and what are you managing to do?

[Tyashkeyevich] Of course we do not want to present our students with fictitious degrees. For this reason, our return to our college and very, very intense study on tight schedules awaits us.

[Omelchenko] Stanislav Ivanovich, I, as a journalist, fly to many towns in the country and always encounter the problem of tickets. Everywhere there are long lines at booking counters, crowds, but here to my surprise I noticed that is has become quite simple to obtain tickets to Yerevan, for example, from Stepanakert.

[Tyashkeyevich] It was not only a problem to obtain tickets here, it was also a problem to leave with the tickets.

[Omelchenko] Yes, yes...

[Tyashkeyevich] People with tickets were left behind and people without tickets left. Money decided everything.

[Omelchenko] Gennadiy Pokgorniy stands at the admission point which is the most critical spot...

[Podgorniy] We stand here at the admission point almost every day, uninterruptedly. Many people try to slip us bribes but this, of course, is stopped.

[Tyashkeyevich] Our contigent here are future officers, lawyers who understand the essence of an issue and for this reason I repeat that we took the adminsitration under control and this is the result. When there is order, it turns out there are seats.

[Omelchenko] And order is a reliable foundation for stabilization of the situation here in Nagorno-Karabakh.

[Tyashkeyevich] Yes, and anywhere else. [end recording]

Armenia Sending Medical Assistance to NKAO

NC1810125689 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] The prolonged blockade of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] has created a serious situation for Artsakh's [NKAO] health services and hospitals. The Health Ministry of mother Armenia and health care services in the republic have again extended their helping hand to extricate the NKAO from its difficulties. The Armenian medical technology production unit collected a large amount of medical equipment and sent it to Stepanakert by air. Blockaded Armenia sent four helicopter loads of medical goods from its depleting stocks to Stepanakert in September alone.

Today the Artsakh health services are in difficulty. Even the health services of the oblast are blockaded. However, mother Armenia is extending its protection.

Armenian Health Minister Visits

NC1910093489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] The Armenian Health Ministry discussed the issue of providing additional medical assistance to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The ministry has sent R15,700 worth of medical equipment, R10,000 worth of instruments, 2,500 multiple and 5,000 single-shot syringes to health (?services) in the oblast during the last month alone. The artificial kidney [word indistinct] has been equipped. A group of experts and professors have gone to NKAO headed by Aznavuryan, health minister for the Armenian Republic. [words indistinct].

Armenians Seek Reparations for Losses

90US0092A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 1 Oct 89 p 4

[Armenpress article: "On the Economic Responsibility of the Union Republic"]

[Text] At the 10th extraordinary session of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet of the 11th term, responding to inquiries from deputies, the republic procurator, V. Nazaryan, raised the question of the need for economic responsibility of the neighboring republic for the damages caused by the railroad and highway blockade of the Armenian SSR.

In this regard our correspondent went to the Armenian SSR procurator, Doctor of Jurisprudence V. Nazaryan and asked him to comment in detail about the point made at the session.

"Unfortunately, such phenomena as a blockade of the transportation routes are not typical of our region alone. Recently the central mass media organs announced a blockade on cigarettes coming in from Bulgaria. But the economic blockade of the Armenian SSR was global and prolonged, causing immense harm to the economy of the republic as a whole, and, which is especially immoral, depriving builders who had come to help from various regions of the country of the opportunity of healing the wounds caused by the earthquake, as a result of which at the present time more than half million have been left without shelter."

Taking into account the importance of this fateful problem, the republic's procurator's office has developed a USSR draft law, "On the Economic Responsibility of the Union Republic for Harm Caused to It by Another Union Republic."

In the draft law that was developed we proceeded from the idea that the most important aspect of the economic foundations for the creation of a socialist law-governed state is the establishment of the necessary legal base for the economic independence of the union and autonomous republics and their changeover to economic accountability [khozraschet], self-financing, and self-support.

Under the conditions of our socialist federated state all this presupposes along with the granting of broad property rights to union and autonomous republics as subjects of economic relations, also the imposition on them of economic responsibilities that are adequate to their rights. The economic responsibility of the union republics can arise both as agreements concluded among union republics and for economic harm caused by state organs, officials, enterprises, social organizations, and citizens of the other union republic.

The recognition of the union republic and the generally and totally responsible party for causing economic harm through the incorrect actions of state organs, officials,

institutions, enterprises, social organizations, and citizens of the other union republics is an important aspect of respect for its sovereignty.

In the CPSU platform concerning the party national policy under modern conditions it is noted that: "Within the framework of the federated law-governed state mechanisms are created and clearcut procedures are established which can be put in place among authorities and the management of the USSR and the republics and also among union republics and other state-national and national-territorial formations."

In our country there is an institution of property liability of the state as a whole for the negative consequences of incorrect actions on the part of state organs and officials. The essence of this democratic institution consists in that USSR citizens are given the legal right to compensation from the state for real harm caused by the illegal actions of state organs or officials. It would seem that with certain modifications the legal mechanism of this institution could be quite acceptable for resolving issues of economic responsibility of one union republic to another. In this connection the USSR Supreme Court should be given to right to accept and, if there is justification, satisfy cases from the union republic concerning economic damage caused to it by state organs, officials, institutions, enterprises, social organizations, and citizens of the other union republic. Of course, the union republic that has made reimbursement for the harm caused to another union republic should recognize the right to sue for recovery (regressive suits) against subjects that have caused the damage.

Since the union republics as sovereign states are subjects of international law, the arrangement of their interrelations in the area of economic responsibility should be based not only on the aforementioned law on economic responsibility but also on the basic norms and principles of international law. In particular, the union republics must be guided by the principles of the Charter of Economic Rights and Responsibilities of States adopted at the 29th Session of the UN General Assembly in 1974, article 32, which says: "No state can apply against another state or encourage the application of economic, political, or any other measures of a coercive nature directed toward encroachment on its sovereign rights or the gain of any advantage from this."

Therefore any legal violation of this nature should be regarded not only as an act directed against the rights and interests of the given union republic but also as an action causing harm to the economic interests of the USSR and undermining the authority of the country as a whole.

The problem of the economic liability of the union republics is a new legal phenomenon generated by the revolutionary restructuring. In this connection there is a need to grant the union republics the right to conclude agreements about economic liability among themselves. The draft law we have developed will be directed toward the body of deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet from the Armenian SSR.

Armenian Academician on Government Role in Strife

NC1810170489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Report by Artanvil Grigoryan on a meeting at the Oriental Studies Institute of the Armenian Academy of Sciences in Yerevan; no date given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Professor Nikolay Ovanesyan, doctor of historical sciences, delivered a report on the emergence and typology of regional conflicts. He enumerated in detail the global and local conflicts in the three continents in which the big powers—to use the traditional expression—are directly or indirectly involved. After analysing the Cambodian, Afghan, and Lebanese conflicts in particular, the speaker replied to a number of questions, one of which referred to parallels between the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and Lebanese problems. The speaker responded to this question as follows:

[Begin Ovanesyan recording] It is claimed that the problem could turn into something like the Lebanese conflict. Do you know why the two situations are not similar? They are not similar because the Lebanese conflict (?is a matter of imposing control on Lebanese territory). Here, the control is in the hands of the central government, which does not want to exercise it. In Lebanon, there is no central government and (?no one) can impose his authority on the whole of Lebanon. Not even Premier Michel 'Awn can do that. They also have no president and no army. Here, the central government itself instigates and allows the troubles so that the two protagonists in the conflict, the Armenians and Azerbaijanis, may clash as much as possible. In this way the central government pursues certain aims. One of its primary objectives is to issue a warning that no one should try to rise up and demand things from the central governement without the knowledge and permission of the central government. A second objective is (?to manipulate) us by pushing us into this conflict; the Azerbaijanis should not think that they have won; they, too, have become a pawn and a [word indistinct] in this conflict. This is my view as regards the establishment of a parallel with the Lebanese situation. [end Ovanesyan recording] [passage omitted].

Professor (Shado Mghoyan), doctor of historical sciences, analysed the Kurdish movement of the 1920's. Referring to certain contradictions between theory and practice and declared and applied policies, he said, in particular:

[Begin (Mghoyan) recording] Lenin in his work on imperialism wrote that Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, like Armenia and Kurdistan, were in a state of colonial dependence on Turkey. Therefore , Lenin accepted that Kurdistan was a colonial country dependent on Turkey.

If this were so, then why would Kurdistan not have the right to struggle for the recognition of its national rights? The policy of the Soviet Union, including the policy in effect during Lenin's lifetime, has circumvented this basic principle on many questions, as evinced by the March 1921 treaty concerning the Armenian question. They not only (?abandoned) western Armenia, but even Russian Armenia. [passage omitted]

The Bolshevik party adopted defeatist tactics. Was it not the result of this policy that victorious Russia made huge territorial concessions to save the regime? This practice is closely related to the fate of the Kurds as well. This policy even resulted in anomalies, in particular as regards the Armenian problem. The policy showed that the entire Armenian people could be sacrificed if the interests of the revolution so demanded. I cannot imagine any justification for a revolutionary viewpoint which could only be achieved at the cost of trampling upon the rights of other peoples. One also cannot ignore the fact that the resulting distortion is still continuing nowadays, as shown by Nakhichevan and Karabakh. [end (Mghoyan) recording] [passage omitted].

Ryzhkov Comments on Necessity of Strike Law

PM1810140989 London MORNING STAR in English 17 Oct 89 pp 6-7

[Interview with Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov by unidentified NOVOSTI correspondent—date and place not given]

[Text] [NOVOSTI] Why was it necessary to pass the recent resolution on the right to strike?

[Ryzhkov] Disruptions in rail traffic have a direct bearing on people and their lives. Our rail links are extended and, in view of the vastness of the USSR, of particular importance.

Without their smooth functioning we would not last even a few days.

So the first thing that had to be done was to restore the uninterrupted operation of railway transport.

Secondly, it was necessary to stabilise - and guard against any eventualities - the operation of basic industries of the economy such as fuel extraction and transportation, power generation, etc.

In fact, all that makes for the normal functioning of industry and for normal life.

The metal and chemical industries are also basic.

Disruptions in their work would at once tell on the output of consumer goods.

Assume that there is no sheet metal tomorrow.

This would mean stoppages in plants making refrigerators, washing machines and other domestic appliances - in short the overwhelming majority of consumer goods, including the car industry, whose output is so essential for the country.

All the industries I listed are basic ones, forming the foundation for our production.

If this foundation falters, that would do considerable damage to our economy and people.

[NOVOSTI] To what extent do the measures apply to the railway line running through Azerbaijan?

This branch supplies Armenia with all basic necessities, and for several days no trains ran along it.

[Ryzhkov] This question fits into the general context of the problem.

We have called upon Azerbaijanians more than once to appreciate the seriousness of the situation and to open traffic along the line.

The line must function normally.

A vital transport artery cannot be disrupted because of emotions or passions, or because some demand has not been fulfilled.

National problems do exist and must be solved, but the whole peoples cannot be placed at a disadvantage.

This why the people's deputies (MPs) gave powers to the USSR Council of Ministers to take the necessary measures to remedy the situation if railway transport does not operate normally.

But I have given no orders. We rely on people's conscience.

At the same time, I would like to emphasize that stopping trains is no way to solve controversial issues.

In that way the economy can be destabilised.

We have been talking of the dissatisfaction felt by the Soviet people about speeding up the perestroyka processes.

And we did our best to take their wishes into account when drafting the state plan for social and economic development for 1990.

To fulfil its objectives, we need above all a stable situation in the country's economy.

With a destablised economy it is impossible to meet any economic plans.

[NOVOSTI] Are you satisfied with the way the draft resolution was debated? Are you content with the promptness of the people's deputies in adopting a crucial decision in the existing situation?

[Ryzhkov] Discussions at a plenary meeting of the chambers and the joint work of supreme soviet committees and commissions on the draft were productive.

I must admit that on the eve of its adoption it was clear that the original draft was too comprehensive.

It could not be passed in that form.

Besides, the deputies had another draft law to discuss, on settling collective labour conflicts, which contradicted the draft on immediate measures. We agreed that the two documents dealt with different things while the resolution must be more local, embracing only basic industries.

I am convinced that we acted correctly.

When the draft law was examined for a second time, there were many hours of detailed discussion with several dozen deputies.

It was not an easy debate, because it involved many problems.

In the end, however, we hit upon a common approach, firmly agreeing to divide the problem into two parts: The economic part, and the political part dealing with interethnic issues.

If we had not done so, we would not have come to a common view. This separation enabled to us to work more productively.

I must say that the deputies correctly grasped the situation, showed a sense of responsibility for the decision taken, and appreciated its vital importance for the welfare of the Soviet people.

NKAO Komsomol Seeks To Join Armenian Group

NC1810141389 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 17 Oct 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The papers report that a plenum of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Komsomol examined the situation prevailing in the organization. It was indicated at the plenum that the Azerbaijan leadership is doing everything it can to impede a just solution of the NKAO problem and is pursuing [words indistinct] as a result of which the Azeri and Armenian peoples have found themselves in a dangerous situation which has the potential to turn into a civil war.

Taking into account the prevailing situation the oblast committe of the NKAO Komsomol, which had decided in (?September) 1988 to withdraw the NKAO Komsomol from the Azerbaijani Komsomol organization, has now decided to ask the Central Committee of the Armenian Komsomol to be incorporated into the Komsomol organization of the Armenian Republic. It also decided to ask the Central Committee of the All-Union Leninist Komsomol to consider this request [words indistinct].

New Armenian Periodical Published in NKAO

NC1810140289 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] The first issue of ARTSAKH, a new periodical, was made available to readers in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and Armenia. This publication took the same name as one published in Shushi in the twenties. During that period, 21 different periodicals appeared in that famous center of Armenian culture, of which only 2 were published in Russian and only 1 in Turkish. Following the burning of that city and the massacre of its Armenian residents, the Armenian periodicals ceased publication. Now, only one Azeri periodical appears in Shushi. The people of Artsakh [the NKAO], true to their historical and spiritual heritage, are reviving past memories one by one.

The oldest Armenian periodical in continious publication, BAZMAVEB, published by the Mkhitaryan Congregation [in Venice], has welcomed the first issue of ARTSAKH. Armenian and Soviet writers have sent congratulations, including Silva Kaputikyan, [names indistinct], and the periodicals [names indistinct].

The new NKAO publication has both a political and social orientation, and will widely represent the life and public events of the oblast. Poets and essayists will appear on ARTSAKH's pages, which are also open to the residents of Armenia and the diaspora compatriots who can subscribe to it and [word indistinct].

Freight Held Up in Baltic Ports

LD1810224889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Cocoa beans and rice, zinc and tin, paper and timber—over 20,000 tons of assorted cargo is stuck in Tallinn's commercial port, awaiting dispatch. Every day, 30 empty freight cars are needed here if the overstocked warehouses and freight-handling areas are to be cleared. But there is a catastrophic shortage of cars. There are not enough tankers either. This is why there are disruptions to the delivery of fuel to the republic.

The paralyzing effects of the railway blockades in the Transcaucasus have reached Estonia. Quite a lot of freight is awaiting dispatch in Latvia's ports. It includes grain, sugar, fruit, butter, and vegetable oil as well as household appliances.

Why is the cargo held up at the docks? Railmen maintain that there is only one answer: There is more of it than was stipulated in the contract with the port workers. For that reason, there is insufficient rolling-stock. Admittedly, emergency measures have been adopted, and now the handling of the cars and the dispatch of freight trains at the commercial ports of Riga and Ventspils are returning to normal.

Lithuania's Prunskene Views Draft Property Law

LD1910133189 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Telephone interview with Kazimera Prunskene, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, by program presenter Jurate Valanciute; from the Lithuanian Council of Ministers building in Vilnius; date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Prunskene] We have voiced our point of view on this issue [the draft USSR law on property]. We also said that we would abstain from voting—Which we did—having in mind the fact that we have been given the powers to solve the question in any way other than that envisaged by our republican Constitution. [passage omitted]

First of all, this draft will be issued for public discussion. I believe there will be various points of view on this issue. If individual republics voice different opinions and will not give their consent to delivering their land and natural resources over to become common property, then a decision opposing this would be regarded as ignoring the rights of sovereign republics. We already have stressed this on more than one occasion.

I also spoke at a joint sitting of committee commissions, at which the resolution for presenting this draft law was discussed. I said specifically that the solution of this issue was related to the presence of the republic in the USSR in general. The Republic of Lithuania cannot give its land away. If this is done against its will, then the question of the republic's status, its relations with the Union, and in general the possibilities for it to remain within the Union composition under such conditions, automatically arises.

Lithuanian Constitution Changes Discussed

90UN0089A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 4 Oct 89 pp 1-3

[Unattributed report: "Confirmation of Ukases of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium]

[Excerpt] There is another important document. You will recall that at the 18 May session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Article 70 of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) was changed. It was established that "in the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] laws are passed by its Supreme Soviet or by referendum. Laws of the USSR and legal enactments of the authorities and administrations of the USSR shall be in force on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR only after their confirmation by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and registration under established procedure."

The second part of the article allows their operation to be limited or suspended by decree of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. With reference to the second point, a decree has been drawn up and discussed and presented to you.

It should be said that it is now difficult for us to define the mechanism for the legal realization of this article. Ultimately there is a certain legal contradiction also in the version of this article in the Constitution. There are therefore various proposals on its further application. However, the most acceptable has been the one proposed today. All members of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium have approved it. Under this procedure it is proposed that article 70 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution be observed until the new convocation of the republic Supreme Soviet has been elected. In addition, due consideration is given to the fact that the decree already passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet on the proposals of the supreme soviets of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia about the transfer of these republics to cost accounting is favorable for us.

In this draft decree it is pointed out that USSR laws and other legal enactments by organs of state power and administration in the USSR shall operate on the territory of the republic if they are not at variance the sovereignty or economic independence of the Lithuanian SSR.

If required restrictions on or the rescission of these enactments must be submitted to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet using the procedure indicated in paragraphs two and four.

The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers would have to lay down procedure for the operation on republic territory of the norms of legal enactments adopted by ministries, state committees, and departments of the USSR. If required, we as a parliament would be able to make use of the law on control and be made aware of how they are being resolved.

The republic Supreme Soviet, and in the interval between sessions its Presidium, would be able to pass on USSR laws and legal enactments by the organs of state power and administration in the USSR to appropriate commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet for the relevant conclusions. This procedure also makes provision for the regulations of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet now in force.

Esteemed deputies, the Supreme Soviet Presidium proposes that the republic Supreme Soviet discuss and adopt the ukases submitted and approve them. They should be published in the press and in VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA I PRAVITELSTVA LITOVSKOY SSR.

I would also like to express my opinion on the question under discussion—the composition of the Presidium. This is also partly altered by the appropriate article of the Fundamental Law. I earnestly ask the deputies here to support the directions of the Presidium on the need to increase the number of working members in the Presidium, and also that an appropriate member of the Presidium may exercise patronage over some of the commissions. I think that this item on the agenda may be

resolved positively by discussion. It would be very favorable for us since before the session of the new convocation we still have stepped-up work to do for a good 6 months, and there will be more business rather than less.

Estonian Lawyers Union Issues Declaration

18001678 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 12 Sep 89 pp 2-3

[Report on interview with Mikhkel Oviyr, elder of the Estonian Lawyers' Union, by V. Akimov: "Preference of the Native Population or Preference of the Native Nation?"; place, date not given; Unattributed text of the Resolution of the Estonian Lawyers' Union]

[Text]**One of the issues now most under discussion in society is preference. The sides show no particular clarity on the subject. Some say that the problem of preference of the indigenous nation on its native territory must be discussed; others state no, what is being discussed is the preference of native residents. And those, you will agree, are two entirely different things. So, what is it that is under discussion?**

Our correspondent met with Mikhkel Oviyr, elder of the Estonian Lawyers' Union, and asked him to explain the situation.

[Oviyr] Understanding the concepts is not at all as simple as it would appear at first glance. The representatives of various professions frequently invest different meanings in one and the same term. For example, the native population, native residents are understood and evaluated differently from the point of view of the archaeologist, historian, and lawyer.

[Akimov] But now, when we have gotten right up to the creation of a law-governed state, we are interested in the opinion of lawyers above all. It seems to me that their word must be shown preference.

[Oviyr] I would not say "preference." I would not use that word in general. It has some sort of negative nuance. Yet in some concrete situations, when the formulations of some legal acts are under discussion, of course lawyers must say this important word. I emphasize that this is an important word, not the most important. It seems to be our misfortune that at times we demand too much of lawyers. People take some sort of legal act and say, there, you see what the lawyers have done again. As a rule, a legal act is prepared by entirely different specialists, different departments. For example, on educational matters, the basic problems are worked out not by lawyers, but by teachers, figures from the educational sphere; on cultural matters, they use their own specialists. The lawyers impart legal form to the act. But of course, here a great deal depends upon the legal experts, how much openly accessible sense they are able to impart to the concepts.

[Akimov] Let us try to reach a single interpretation in the case at hand. Thus, the native population. This term is used in the Resolution of the Estonian Lawyers' Union. What meaning do you put into it?

[Oviyr] We use the concept of "native resident" or "native population." Our legislation does not specifically define the concept of "native population." By this we imply that the native population is that portion of the population which has been associated with the given state or territory for a prolonged period, and lives there permanently. At the same time, many UN acts speak specifically of the rights of this native population. And this means that even international law makes people's legal status dependent upon whether they are the native or non-native population. Obviously, for the various political powers, it is worthwhile to sit down to the negotiating table with lawyers to reach a consensus in order to refine this concept. There is no other way.

[Akimov] But can the concept of "native resident" be considered to be independent of national affiliation, confession of faith, political convictions, or any other conditions?

[Oviyr] Of course. In the world's democratic countries, the legal criterion for the concept of "native resident" is his relation to citizenship of the given state. If you are a citizen, you correspondingly acquire rights on an equal basis with all other citizens. Any sort of discrimination is excluded.

[Akimov] We are now talking about citizenship. Does that mean that the concept of "citizen of a state, of a republic" is broader than than which determines the concept of "nationality?"

[Oviyr] Undoubtedly. After all, citizenship defines the link of the concrete person with the concrete republic, the concrete state.

[Akimov] What do you think, why has the opportunity for a broad interpretation of the concept of "native resident" arisen under current conditions, why do various people invest it with various meanings?

[Oviyr] It is difficult for me to say. Perhaps because it is somehow advantageous at the given moment.

[Akimov] Does it seem to you that this example may serve as a point of departure for beginning a dialog on the correlation of politics and rights?

[Oviyr] Let us discuss this. After all, as a rule, lawyers do not make policy independently. There are individual cases where the politician and lawyer meet in a single person. But for the time being, this is the rare case for us. The politicians make the policy. The lawyers formulate the laws in accordance with the problems of the time. They execute the politicians' social order, in a way. Here is a recent example: the residency requirement which figures in the Law on Elections. How to account for this situation does not play any role to the lawyer. After all, it was not the lawyers who decided whether or not to have

the requirement. The republic's Supreme Soviet decided that. So, in the given situation, there can be no claims against us, the lawyers.

[Akimov] Do the lawyers and the politicians invest the concept of "native resident" with identical meaning?

[Oviyr] That is a difficult question. This may be so, or it may not be. To me, it is natural that the native resident may be an Estonian, a Russian, a Jew, or a Belorussian.

[Akimov] And in what case may an Estonian not be a native resident?

[Oviyr] I think if an Estonian were born and raised and lives somewhere in Kazakhstan, or Uzbekistan, for example...

[Akimov] Or in Sweden...

[Oviyr] ...Yes, or in Sweden. That is, to repeat, citizenship determines everything. You are a citizen of the republic or you are not. All remaining situations derive from this. Let us take the Resolution of the Lawyers' Union. If one were to read it without knowing that the development and adoption of the Law on Citizenship are on the agenda, then it comes across as discrimination against someone. After all, we write there that a preferential right to housing, the right to elect organs of power, the right to self-management, and the right to develop our own language and culture must be guaranteed to the native residents. But be attentive to the fact that nowhere does it mention the preferential rights of the native nation. The promotion of the term "preference of the native population" is related to the fact that for many years, the country's individual republics and regions, in the majority of cases, did not have actual rights in social and political development; they depended first and foremost upon the will of the central ministries and departments.

[Akimov] But after all, these examples show once again that to a fair degree, lawmaking lags behind life. And quite substantially.

[Oviyr] In my opinion, that is how it must be. At first, an actual situation must arise in life, actual relations in society which must be legislatively regulated. And then there appear the corresponding laws. Of course, it would be ideal if law and life were to move as a unified front, but that does not happen in fact. How many times did we say that a law on strikes was needed. In the lawyers' opinion, one should have been adopted at least a year ago. But at that time, society did not feel any particular need. What we have today is that a phenomenon exists without there being any legal mechanism to regulate it. And many such examples may be cited from the most diverse spheres of life. When society finally recognizes the essence of the phenomenon and begins to develop laws, the gap between life and legislation grows even wider, since life tries to rush even further ahead. This is especially noticeable in out stormy times. After all, the paradox of perestroyka is precisely in the fact that the more quickly political processes develop in society, the more starkly the laws lag behind actual life, and the more frequently cataclysms arise.

[Akimov] In that case, does it seem to you that one of the reasons for the tension now emerging in the republic is precisely the fact that the adoption of the Law on Citizenship was so dragged out?

[Oviyr] I think that the adoption of this law would also determine the content of many other laws. Then we would manage to avoid many, many acute conflicts. Any lawyer will tell you that the relationship of person and state must be determined at the outset. Then the other laws will also come into life naturally. But the lawyers do not decide this order, which law to adopt first, which later. This, again, is decided by politicians. At times, those who make decisions want to "correct" life with some "tiny little laws." This does not work, because the need for wholesale regulation of all society's life emerged a long time ago. And this requires that a political decision be made. Until there is one, we are only "mending the pants."

[Akimov] You participated as an expert in the negotiations between the republic's leadership with the strike committee. There was discussion of, among other things, issues of sovereignty and the federated structure of the state. There is also mention of the republic's actual sovereignty and its concrete guarantees in the Lawyers' Union Resolution. Let us talk about this.

[Oviyr] We already know the simplest definition of the sovereignty of a union republic: the opportunity to resolve one's own affairs via one's own parliament and elective organs. In our federated state, sovereignty is defined by limits—what rights the republic has and what rights the center has. If we take the entire period of our federation's existence up to the present day, can we claim that the union republic is in fact a sovereign state? Probably not. According to the Constitution, yes, it is sovereign. But in fact, it is not, since some articles of the Constitution limit the effect of the other articles. Let us take the Code of Labor Laws. Labor law is a most important branch in which the union republic can put its sovereignty into life. Now, of the entire mass of all the articles of the Code of Labor Laws, it seems to me that only one falls to the competence of the union republic. All other articles are regulated by union legislation. This is what comes of it: There is a concept of sovereignty without actual content. Hence the disagreement. One party asserts that the republic is sovereign. Yes, reply the others, but only within the bounds which we determine for you. And if you examine these bounds you will soon be convinced that very little remains of de facto sovereignty. That is why it is difficult to this day to say that ours is a federated state. In its essence, it is a unitarist state.

[Akimov] You cited an interesting example with the Code of Labor Laws. In view of this, a question arises

which is of interest to many people today, one of the priority of union laws over the republic laws.

[Oviyr] In principle, the union and republic legislation must be precisely delineated. The union legislation must take place only within the limits determined by the union republics, based upon the rights which they voluntarily turn over to the center. Both scholarly and legal circles have long spoken of the need for a new Constitution. As you will recall, recently the Donbass miners also advanced a demand to create a new USSR Fundamental Law. Everyone understands that the old Constitution is not working. Moreover, new laws which contradict it are being developed. Our IME [Self-Managing Estonia] is one example of this. But after all, the Constitution is in fact a political document. Therefore, first all political prerequisites must be put into place. And then, with the assistance of lawyers, a new document will be developed. We are now in a phase of a transition period, when the republics, in order to keep pace with life, are adopting laws which run contrary to the Constitution. As a lawyer, I am not justifying such actions. Yet they are the consequence of lawmaking lagging behind life.

I will note, incidentally, that there are articles in the currently existing Constitution which oblige us to work well and conscientiously, to fulfill our duty to the state. But after all, hardly anyone pays any attention to them these days. Why not? Because everything, all the same, is determined by the political and economic situation. They can object to my words, of course: The republic is violating the union laws, and we are struggling for their implementation. No. One may not struggle by illegal means to implement laws.

In general, our legislation is highly contradictory, including the Constitution. And we may not select from them the articles which suit us in one situation or another, discarding or failing to notice other articles not suited to this situation. We get nonsense; everyone seems to be right. And this happens, I repeat, because legislation lags behind actual life. Many people's deputies in Moscow say that the draft laws which they received before the second congress of soviets were already obsolete. There is only one way out: The deputies must get more actively involved in the process of developing and adopting laws. Even at the stage where the temporary deputies' groups participate in working out new draft laws. In my opinion, the days when departments and the apparatus developed laws are gone.

Resolution of the Estonian Lawyers' Union

As a democratic organization, the Estonian Lawyers' Union [SYuE] sets as the aim of its activities the amalgamation of the lawyers' forces for the active support and implementation of the statutes of the 11th Central Committee Plenum of the Communist Party of Estonia, and the 16 November 1988 decisions on perestroyka of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, and will utilize all lawful means for these purposes.

The SYuE asserts the existence at this moment in Estonia of a number of painful issues whose resolution requires the lawyers' vitally necessary and active intercession.

The SYuE supports the rapid and actual implementation of Self-Managing Estonia, the implementation of the republic's sovereignty, the provision of Estonia's unity, and the immediate cessation of migration to the republic, with the application of legislative measures necessary for these ends.

The SYuE supports the need for the early establishment of Estonian citizenship and the introduction of the corresponding laws on a foundation which will ensure the preference of the native population of Estonia on its historical territory. Native residents' priority right to housing, the right to elect their organs of power, their right to self-management, and the development of their language and culture must be guaranteed.

The SYuE considers necessary the development of a new Estonian SSR Fundamental Law on foundations which ensure the republic's actual sovereignty, and constituting its concrete guarantees. For the achievement of economic independence, the SYuE supports the IME program and the establishment of legal status of union enterprises situated within the territory of the Estonian SSR, according to which they would be completely subordinate to republic leadership.

The SYuE demands complete and unconditional implementation of the Estonian SSR Law on Language, including in the organs of justice, as it considers a primary necessity the mastery of both Estonian and Russian on the part of the justice staffers who deal directly with people in the execution of their official obligations.

The SYuE decisively condemns Stalinist mass repressions and will do everything in order to promote the rehabilitation of those illegally repressed, and compensation for the damages inflicted upon them. The SYuE fully supports the 7 December 1988 Estonian SSR law's statute on recognizing the mass repressions as a crime against humanity, and demands the disclosure and punishment of individuals guilty in this act.

The SYuE considers urgently necessary the early implementation of legal reform in Estonia, which would be ensured by the courts' independence and their subordination only to the law. Each person must have the right to appeal to the court for the defense of his constitutional rights, and to use a lawyer at all phases of court proceedings.

The SYuE condemns the practice taking place in the USSR of developing draft laws in central departments, directed toward the extreme centralization of legislation and the fortification of central authority at the expense of narrowing the rights of the union republics.

The SYuE demands strict adherence to the laws adopted in defense of the natural environment, and the punishment of those officials guilty of polluting the environment.

The SYuE is concerned with the unsatisfactory state of the struggle against crime in Estonia, and considers necessary the radical improvement of activity of the law enforcement organs, their personnel, and technical equipment. Work in crime solving, against alcoholism and drug addiction as conditions promoting the perpetration of crimes should be decisively intensified.

The SYuE appeals to all lawyers to adopt active participation in the democratization of the political system of the Estonian SSR, the unification of forces supporting perestroyka and the development of glasnost in the cause that our society take the path of creating a law-governed state.

Adopted at the founders' meeting of Estonian lawyers, 10 March 1989.

Estonia's Savisaar Defends IME Autonomy Plans

18001684a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 7 Sep 89 p 2

Article by Edgar Savisaar, deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the ESSR State Planning Committee: "Unite Forces Within the Framework of a Cost-Accounting Estonia"]

[Text]

Opinion of deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers and chairman of the Estonian SSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] Edgar Savisaar on the Statement from the Republic Council of Representatives of the Estonian SSR Strike Committees Published in the Press

Published in our newspaper on 25 August, this document remains very topical even though other important events have supplanted it during the last 2 weeks.

The positions set forth in the statement can be interpreted in different ways and one may dispute them or agree with them, but not remain indifferent to them. And our piece today is yet another confirmation of this.

I. On Isolation

The strike committee is still relying on old arguments, as if republic cost accounting would signify Estonia's economic isolation and cut off economic links with other republics. This is a totally erroneous opinion since cost accounting in an all-union republic assumes accelerated economic development and hence economic links between Estonia and the other economic regions of the USSR will be even deeper. For the entire population of Estonia knows that there are shortages of many resources and many kinds of raw materials essential for industry, agriculture, and other sectors: oil, metals, cotton, machinery, equipment, and much else. How could Estonia cut off its economic links with its present partners in the other all-union republics and at the same time successfully develop its economy, which is what is proposed in the IME [Self-Managing Estonia] program? It is clear that this kind of situation is impossible. Consequently, Estonia should still make active use of its partners in the other all-union republics.

The basis question is something else: Under the conditions of republic cost-accounting economic links with other the other all-union republics and also the economic links between enterprises, in which this should be advantageous for both partners, the partners must have an interest in these links and have the right to select partners with whom to establish economic links. A normal, healthy economy can exist only on the basis of economic interest and mutual advantage.

If fact, the IME program does provide for a gradual curtailment of the role of the center (Moscow) as the only organ that makes decisions regarding economic relations between the republics. It is not Moscow that will decide how many pairs of shoes any particular Estonian enterprise should sell in Central Asia or the Transcaucasian republics (as has been the case heretofore), but the union republics that will themselves buy and sell each others' goods under the terms of contracts concluded between them.

Thus, it will be incorrect to think that reducing the role of the center in the management of economic links will lead Estonia's economy into isolation. On the contrary, Estonia's interest in selecting trading partners in the other all-union republics will be increased so as to saturate the market with goods not produced in Estonia. At the same time Estonia is interested in selling its own surpluses in the other all-union republics in order to obtain funds to purchase raw materials.

II. On the Additions to the IME Concept

The strike committee asserts that the IME concept should be supplemented with all-union interests and the interests of the union republics with which we have established economic links.

In the Russian fairy tale we find the expression: "Go, I don't know where to fetch I don't know what." And it is exactly the same with the demand that the strike committee is making of IME. Those who devised the concept cannot include all-union interests and the interests of other republics in it for the simple reason that we do not what others' interests are. The inadequate effectiveness of economic activity at the center (Moscow), of which we are all aware in the form of the empty stores, is the result precisely of the fact that in the opinion of the center it is capable alone of taking into account the interests of all the union republics and all the enterprises and establishments in the USSR by means of concentrating (centralizing) in its own hands the main part of the resources and goods produced in the country, with subsequent (centralized) redistribution at its own discretion. Life has shown

quite clearly and unambiguously that in our economy this method achieves nothing worthwhile. No one knows the interests of the union republics better than the union republic itself, just as the enterprise itself knows its own interests better than the higher organization. Consequently, the best thing is to give the union republics the right to deal among themselves about economic cooperation. It goes without saying that in this matter it is essential to reach compromises, curtail one's own interests somewhat, and give more consideration to the interests of the partner. The main thing is nevertheless to reach agreements. This is precisely the regime of partnership envisaged in the IME concept: economic agreements both with the center and with other union republics. What sense is there in the ultimatum from the strike committee, demanding that the IME concept also include the interests of our partners along the line of economic links. This is impossible and inconceivable.

III. Estonia's Enterprises and All-Union Laws

The strike committee is demanding that with the transition to IME full consideration be given to the interests of enterprises and labor collectives, proceeding from the appropriate all-union laws.

It states clearly in the IME program that if all-union laws defining economic regulations are at variance with the principles of republic cost accounting and hamper it, at enterprises operating in the cost-accounting all-union republic laws that are in line with the principles of IME will operate in that all-union republic.

If we proceed from the principle advanced by the strike committee, in accordance with which all-union laws always take precedence in any situation since they are exclusively correct, then what we are dealing with is a very ordinary error of logical thinking. If we change something in the economy (and the switch of an all-union republic to cost accounting is a major change) then the new activity will inevitably require new conditions (new rules for economic games) and may be at variance with the old rules. In such a case it would be incorrect to retain the old at any price and threaten each new step. In order to achieve economic successes in the future we must abandon the past if it hampers us. Otherwise the development of the economy is in general inconceivable.

IV. On the Status of the United Council of Labor Collectives [OSTK] in IME

At the demand of the strike committee the OSTK should have the deciding vote in all decisionmaking relating to the structural policy of enterprises. The OSTK should have a "monopoly" in the Estonian economy in sectors of the national economy such industry, transport, power engineering and communications.

Much is being said about the importance of perestroyka in the life of Estonia. First, emphasis is always laid on the need to abandon the command-administrative system. However, the strike committee wants to strengthen this system even more in cost-accounting Estonia. In a cost-accounting republic only the enterprises that are capable of operating on the principles of cost accounting, that is, are able to cover all their costs from their own incomes, can operate. If they accumulate surplus income and enterprises form profit, these enterprises can if necessary expand their economic activities and become involved in other spheres of activity. If some part of economic activity at an enterprise is not making a profit, or even is operating at a loss, the enterprise should have the right to cease that activity because it is becoming an obstacle to cost accounting. It is quite natural that from its economic calculations an enterprise will itself decide what and how much it should produce. This means that the enterprise makes decisions independently on changes in the structure of production. If it is considered correct (as the strike committee claims) that the OSTK should have a monopoly in proclaiming the final truth and resolving questions concerning structural policy at enterprises, then it makes no sense to talk about cost-accounting enterprises. Cost accounting always means independent decisionmaking, regardless of what level of cost accounting we have in mind—enterprise, rayon, or republic. If independent decisionmaking is one side of cost accounting, the other is responsibility for oneself. Each cost-accounting enterprise is responsible for its own economic activity, and responsible for its profits and its losses. And if someone is going to deprive the enterprise forcibly of the role of decisionmaking he is obliged to assume that responsibility.

Following through on this thought, we have reached the situation prevailing today. This is exactly how a planned economy works: The enterprise is not permitted to make independent decisions but is surrounded by a solid wall of various constraints, prohibitions, and orders. This is why enterprises are also relieved of responsibility. No enterprise can go into bankruptcy no matter how unsatisfactorily it may operate. And so on payday people working in the firmly established relationship of the enterprise have no sense of the results of successful work at their enterprise.

In the economic aspect this means that the enterprise should be free to organize its own economic activity. It should be subordinate only to the laws of the republic, not to its own higher organ, or the OSTK.

The activity of an enterprise should be influenced only indirectly in a direction favorable for the republic. For example, it may be offered state credit on favorable terms. However, the enterprise should always be able to refuse such privileges.

V. On the Labor Market

In the opinion of the strike committee, in cost-accounting Estonia there should be no "free labor market." This demand is the stranger since a free labor market already exists in the country, including in Estonia. This is expressed in the freedom of the individual to choose his place of work. Naturally, it is quite

clear that workers with greater skills have greater freedom of choice since a larger number of enterprises need them.

The same situation is preserved in cost-accounting Estonia, where people will have the right freely to offer their labor to any enterprise. Of course, cost-accounting enterprises will offer higher wages to people with better skills.

At the same time the republic should offer its own workers the opportunity for re-qualification and retraining in specialties more needed by the republic. It is quite natural that this responsibility rests with the republic government. This is how things stand in all the developed countries. I suggest that given a well-considered and well-intentioned familiarization with the IME program, all of the above can be seen in it.

A system for improving business skills and for retraining already exists in the republic: courses to improve work skills are operating in every sector ministry and also in the institutes. It is quite clear that under cost-accounting conditions this organization will require significant improvement.

VI. On the National Labor Force

The strike committee believes it is necessary to implement a program to form a national working class. Evidently what it has in mind is an increase in the number of workers of Estonian nationality.

Here we clearly see the well-known Interdvizheniye [Intermovement] proposition on dividing nationalities in Estonia on the class principle. The working class, the vanguard of socialism, that is, the progressive part of Estonia's population—the Russians—and the rest, which will, with mistrust, include the Estonians. This sets one's teeth on edge, it is a hostile attitude that can lead only to greater tension in the relations between Estonians and Russians. I am convinced that the majority of Russians living in Estonia are also tired of this attitude, which evokes hostility, and do not believe in it.

On the other hand, the situation that has taken shape must be explained objectively: in Estonia the proportion of Russians among the workers really is much greater than Estonians. Why is this?

Each economic region—the union republic or oblast, the city or village—has its own objective boundaries of growth, its own potential for development. In this sense an economic region may be compared to the human organism. Not all people are capable of pole vaulting to a height of 5 meters or lifting weights of 150 kilograms. In just the same way, few people are capable of inventing anything original in their lives, or of discovering a new law of nature. Each person has a potential for his own inner development, determined by the maximum level of his mental capabilities to which a person can rise throughout his lifetime. And it is the same with a region that can sustain only a certain economic burden. Estonia's natural environment, of which we, people, are a part, is capable of sustaining industry, agriculture and so forth only up to a certain level. And if we exceed that optimum level for the natural environment the result will be a sick nature. Under these conditions all the parts of nature, including us, the inhabitants of Estonia will also become sick. A large number of sick people will thus make the whole of society sick.

We do not have to go far to find examples; most inhabitants have seen it for themselves in the northeast part of Estonia, a region of the republic that is seriously sick. Tallinn is now at its limit. The reason is to be found in the over-industrialization of these regions, that is, industry and other sectors of the economy have been developed there beyond the level that the natural environment can tolerate.

The egoism of of all-union departments and their desire to expand spanning many decades have led to a situation in which Estonia has been flooded with an enormous number of surplus industrial enterprises. The small republic is objectively unable to "nourish" such a large industrial complex using its own labor force. On orders from the all-union departments a labor force was "enticed" into Estonia from other parts of the Soviet Union. Since large-scale industry requires primarily workers, it was precisely mainly they who came. The results of this kind of departmental policy from a position of strength continued for years, and unfortunately cannot be quickly corrected, even under IME conditions. It is unlikely that the Russian workers and, for example, cultural workers or engineers of Estonian nationality will change jobs and work places, as the strike committee recommends. Each path of development brings its own objective results.

In the present economic situation there is no need for the strike committee's program for a "national working class." Each enterprise can recruit for work people of any nationality living in Estonia, and it makes no sense to initiative the next senseless campaign on this plane.

VII. On the Strike Committee's Proposal on the Makeup of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers

The strike committee's yearning for power knows no bounds, and it can be suggested that it will soon reach the scale of Stalinist gigantism. The members of the committee are demanding the withdrawal from the Council of Ministers of all persons connected with work on the IME concept (despite the fact that earlier they were talking about a transition to IME and were issuing demands connected with this). In practical terms, according to their logic it would be necessary to disband the present Council of Ministers entirely since all the people in it were involved in work on the final edition of the IME concept before it was submitted for consideration by the Estonia Supreme Soviet. This demand of the strike committee is so absurd that it makes no sense to continue the polemic.

Interdvizheniye, and also the forces close to it—the OSTK and the strike committees—claim that they express the opinion of all the Russian-speaking part of Estonia's population. Is this really so? The "Majnor" public opinion research section conducted a telephone poll in the afternoon and evening of 27 August involving 154 non-Estonians living in Tallinn. Attention was focused on the problems we are talking about and in the strike committee statement.

It is common knowledge that there has been much talk lately about the correctness of Estonia, and also of Latvia and Lithuania, being part of the USSR. The strike committees claim that, relying on the readings of the history of the Baltic situation accepted before perestroyka, Estonia's inclusion as part of the Soviet Union was voluntary and reflected the will of the people. This viewpoint was supported by only an insignificant part of the non-Estonian population (19), while 50 percent of those polled thought that "Estonia's inclusion as part of the USSR in 1940 was forced on it by the Soviet Union" (31 percent of those polled expressed no opinion on this question).

The strike committees claim that the IME program is allegedly separatist and aimed at isolating Estonia from the rest of the Soviet Union. Some 12 percent of those polled agreed with this, while 71 percent think that the IME program "is aimed at implementing perestroyka and improving Estonia's economic position."

The strike committees are demanding that in all its propositions the IME repeat the Law on the State Enterprise. However, a large proportion of the Russian-speaking population (44 percent, including 50 percent of workers in the production sphere) suggest that the legislation now in force in the USSR, including the Law on the State Enterprise, does not take into account the real interests of the enterprises and labor collectives and does not protect them. Only 22 percent of those polled thought that existing legislation in the USSR is favorable for the enterprises.

The following question was also asked: How do you regard the viewpoint that in republic national policy the language and culture of the indigenous population should be in a favorable position (the so-called "concept of priority for the indigenous nation)? Some 55 percent of respondents thought that the concept of priority for the indigenous nation is correct, 32 percent were against it, and 12 percent were undecided.

I think that it would be useful for each reader to compare these figures and become convinced in the knowledge that many people share his viewpoint. Most Russians do not think that their future, nor the future of their children, is endangered in the Baltic region. They do not believe that they want to make them "second-class people." Most Russians want to live in peace with the Estonians and want to live much better than they do today.

OSTK Representative Comments

18001684b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 7 Sep 89 p 3

[Report of interview with Igor Shepelevich, member of the Estonian OSTK Presidium, by V. Ivanov: "Within a Framework But Without Barriers"]

[Text]**The editor informed Igor Shepelevich, director of the Kh. Pegelman Electrotechnical Plant and member of the Estonian SSR OSTK [United Council of Labor Collectives] Presidium, and participant in the talks between the republic leadership, on the one hand, and representatives of Interdvizheniye [Intermovement], the strike committees, and the OSTK, on the other, of the content of the article by E. Savisaar, and asked him to express his attitude both toward the opinion of the deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers and the republic Gosplan, and to the documents of the republic council of strike committees.**

[Shepelevich] In fact the document of the strike committees today formed the basis of the talks that started on the eve of the arrival of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission led by Comrade Tarazevich, and are still continuing. According to all parties involved, the ultimate goal of the talks is to stabilize the situation in the Estonian SSR. The fundamental premises are the materials of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the plenums of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and the Statement of the CPSU Central Committee on the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics. During the course of the talks being held in the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, it is necessary to work out agreed proposals for the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Buro and the republic Council of Ministers and Supreme Soviet, for them to use in achieving reaching this goal, which will make it possible to move on to the creation of an economically strong republic.

In analyzing the content of documents of the republic council of strike committees, Edgar Savisaar devotes most attention to socioeconomic problems and considers them in great detail. But he virtually totally ignores one of the main points in the statement, namely, the priority of the indigenous nation. And we still think that this provision is essentially the main "stumbling block" that is hampering the normal development of dialogue between the various sociopolitical movements. You can be sure that this is not a manifestation of groundless "cyclicity" since we see that the idea of priority permeates many documents, declarations, and resolutions adopted later both on behalf of the various movements and at the official level. In particular, the IME [Self-Managing Estonia] program, with all its apparent economic thrust, declares the very same postulate: Point five of the program directly states that "the direction of economic activity proceeds from the requirement to insure the preservation of the **indigenous nation on its**

historical territory as the main subject determining political, cultural, and socioeconomic development. (Taken from the text of the original).

[Ivanov] However, in published statements, on television and in the press, the leaders of the People's Front and the republic party leaders have not subsequently explained that priority of a nation does not mean advantages for the individuals of that nation over the rest...

[Shepelevich] You must understand that much can be explained, but no matter how one interprets it, priority comes from the Latin "prior," meaning "paramount, first"... And what is said from a high tribune is an expression that automatically attunes part of the indigenous inhabitants of the republic to a supposed priority right in the distribution of material blessings—services, housing, goods and so forth. Naturally we cannot agree with this kind of conception. This is why both the OSTK and other movements expressing the opinion of the Russian-speaking population speak out categorically against priority for the indigenous nation.

[Ivanov] And how do you assess those points in the statement of the republic council of strike committees where an interpretation is made of the probability of self-imposed isolation of the republic during the course of realization of the IME concept, against which E. Savisaar makes well-argued objections?

[Shepelevich] Let us try to understand what has caused these apprehensions. In my opinion the reason for this is that today we often hear, at various levels, proposals for total, let us call it nationalization of all enterprises and other production forces in the republic some people also talk about the enforced reorientation of all-union enterprises; and we also include the priority of republic laws over all-union laws, and much else that creates among people the impression that the republic is striving for (or may find itself in) self-imposed isolation. Even though today, everyone understands in principle that after correcting all its relations with the Soviet Union, Estonia is incapable of developing its own economy.

And so when Edgar Savisaar offers a detailed explanation on the subject, I personally have only one question: Who will be given this right—the right to set up and deepen economic links outside the republic? For us, the people of industry, there is the Law on the State Enterprise, and the amendments and additions made to it by the USSR Supreme Soviet that offer a broad scope for the activity of the labor collectives and virtually unties their hands in finding solutions to economic and social problems both within the republic and on a countrywide scale, and also the opportunity of direct contacts with foreign partners.

[Ivanov] In my opinion all our economic ills are mainly the result of the fact that there were too many managers for the land and for the plants and factories, while essentially there was no real manager. What do you think? Who should be the manager—a "strong center" in the republic or the actual labor collective at any specific enterprise?

[Shepelevich] I am a supporter of the balanced scenario. Any state has its own government in which power is embodied. It may be elected or appointed—this depends on the form of government—but in any event it is there. And it determines the strategy for economic (and also political, ideological and other trends) development. And from this standpoint abandoning the "strong center" is fraught with total economic anarchy.

Of course, the republic government, which can see better local needs, opportunities, resources, and requirements, should be properly empowered.

But within the framework of the enterprise there should be independence in resolving economic issues because neither the republic Council of Ministers nor the Gosplan can tell every plant, every shop and brigade, how best to handle their affairs. Since it has its own "brain" the enterprise should itself study market conditions, and should itself "conduct its affairs in a profitable manner." And today we have in fact afforded it this right through the Law on the State Enterprise.

Incidentally, when discussing this subject I would like to draw attention to one point in E. Savisaar's article where he criticizes the authors of the statement from the strike committees for their affiliation with the "monopoly" of the OSTK in sectors of the national economy such as industry, transport, power engineering, and communications. I have in mind the section of the article entitled "On the Status of the OSTK in IME." The fact is that in my opinion the respected Gosplan chairman read the republic council of strike committees document inattentively: it contains not a word about a decisive role for the OSTK in decisionmaking on the reorientation of particular enterprises. The statement says that "when structural changes are being made in industry, transport, power engineering, and communications, reorientation or splitting up of enterprises into smaller units the decisive word should rest with the STK...", that is, with the "labor collective council" [soyuz trudovogo kollektiva] at a particular enterprise, not with the OSTK, as Edgar Savisaar read it. And if we are talking about the independence of the labor collectives (and this is also recognized in the IME concept), then this right should be recognized by people unconditionally, for it a question of their fates. But then the entire pathos of E. Savisaar's further discussion seems simply superfluous...

OSTK is not some concern built on the principle of centralized management: it is a voluntary union of independent enterprises that have joined together on the basis of their common interests today or common interests that they may have in the future.

[Ivanov] And what do you think in general of the reorientation of enterprises now subordinate to all-union departments? On what basis should this be done?

[Shepelevich] I fear that today no one can tell you that. None of us today holds in his hands any legislative enactment that would regulate the activity of enterprises on republic territory under cost-accounting conditions, not counting the "Fundamentals of Cost Accounting in the Estonian SSR," where, as is clear from its title, these principles are set forth only in general form. There is more: No one now knows what the Law on Taxes will be, or how relations will be built between a cost-accounting territory and a cost-accounting enterprise. IME envisages the formation of a state budget based on the territories (city, rayon or volost, uyezd, republic). Proceeding from this we believe that talks about reorientation are totally premature.

What is needed is a law on self-management that would define the limits of such interrelationships (territory—enterprise).

We still know nothing about how the so-called law on entrepeneurship will be. Much is now being said and many declarations are being issued about all possible kinds of freedoms in this sense, but it is just talk; where are the guarantees that the new law will not be stricter than the already published Law on the State Enterprise, which does afford certain rights to the labor collectives? It is quite likely that even stricter requirements will be made with respect to agreeing all the actions of enterprises—with the Council of Ministers, with the Gosplan, with the local soviets, and so forth... Then one diktat will simply be replaced by another. True, this is still only talk, but we, the enterprise directors, should already today be convincing people that a transition to republic subordination will not only not deteriorate but even significantly improve our, that is, **their**, position. And on what specifically is this based?

I say nothing of the fact that as it effects the reorientation of our enterprises, the republic government assumes responsibility to the collectives and the central government for providing us with foreign exchange, special technological equipment, and raw materials, and for the deliveries that we must make to other parts of the country. Of course, we too, the directors, must also assume part of the responsibility for all of this, but only at our own level.

And then I am not convinced that there are not more important problems today than the reorientation and resubordination of all-union enterprises. It seems to me that one task at least as important is to bring to a superhigh level the output from local industry enterprises by concentrating there those not by great opportunities that we do have. In the time needed to resolve this task, enterprises of all-union subordination, **participating as equals in the formation of the local budget,** could independently start to deal with questions concerning their own development, without cutting their links with the "center." After the example of the local enterprises has shown the effectiveness of such measures it will be possible to assume the same burden as the all-union enterprises.

But here, as we understand it, it is not so much economic considerations but rather considerations of a political nature that are acting. If we just take the schedule of preferences that Edgar Savisaar signed, then the "Dvigatel" Plant and the Plant imeni Kh. Pegelman will be first... I think that these are not the enterprises without which IME will be unable to exist after 1 January 1990.

On Friday 1 September we in the OSTK Presidium adopted documents addressed to the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers in which we spoke against these kinds of behind-closed-doors decisions that are made behind our backs and without giving due consideration to the opinion of the labor collectives.

It is probable, and many leaders in the unofficial movements have spoken of this, that some people are counting on foreign investments. But before investing his capital in the development of any particular region, any Western businessman will make an assessment of the "investment climate," where one of the first conditions is the **stability of the political situation.** Which, you will agree, is not the case in the republic today...

[Ivanov] Tell us how you regard the demand of the strike committees to remove from the Council of Ministers those persons who drew up and defended IME's political and economic concept.

[Shepelevich] I hold to another position, namely that there is no need to remove anyone from anywhere. With this kind of policy (what I have in mind is this same priority of the nation) these people will find themselves in an impasse. But the people—also the people—should decide to whom they will entrust the leadership of the republic.

I would nevertheless like to deal again with one point of "priority." Today virtually all of those involved in the talks in the Supreme Soviet have come to the opinion that it is senseless to continue the talk about the priority of the indigenous nation without a detailed explanation in all documents in which it is used of precisely how that priority should be expressed and which aspects of life it will affect. But when the explanations are made, as it were, for themselves, while in official documents the term is used in closed form, it continues to be perceived as the precedence of one nation over all others, no exceptions. And although in the television statement of Edgar Savisaar that SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA published not long ago he recognized that realization of the IME concept is impossible without the involvement of all those living in the republic, regardless of nationality, and only by giving due consideration to the business and professional attributes of each person, if article five of the IME concept remains in its present form no one will place any credence in that statement. But if E. Savisaar acts as sponsor to change this article, or its use in an acceptable version, then I am sure that he could become a person respected among the Russian-speaking population of Estonia.

[Ivanov] And what specifically is the OSTK ready to undertake in order to effect successful integration in the IME system?

[Shepelevich] In general it is a question that "means nothing"; until there is clear-cut agreement on the principles by which all-union enterprises will be included in the republic cost accounting it is impossible to predict any kind of concrete steps. Let me, however, try to answer how I personally see the possible scenarios. For example, I know quite well that the hearing aids that we produce can be bartered at the rate of three hearing aids for one ton of metal. Today I am not interested in this kind of exchange. But the possibility cannot be excluded that in the interests of the republic and of IME we may make this kind of calculation with cooperating plants—proceeding from Estonia's requirements for raw materials. This, of course, is merely a particular example.

But in my opinion the main thing is that the net should receive from the territory (republic or city, to be decided during the course of work) a state order that is profitable for everyone, to produce particular articles required in the domestic market. Here, the territory should also have an interest in the enterprise. Let us assume that it will be financially disadvantageous for us to produce a particular articles that the republic (or city and so forth) needs. But if when this happens I know for sure that the territory has agreed, for our same money, for our workers, to build housing, or to allocate land for that construction, then would undertake to produce that article.

A few more comments on particular points in the statement by the republic council of strike committees and E. Savisaar's commentaries on it. In my opinion here too there is a divergence in the understanding of the same terms and expressions. For example, when talking about a free labor market the strike committees have in mind the threat of unemployment. But Savisaar interprets this concept as the free right of the worker to offer his labor (that is, his professional skills, ability and so forth) to any enterprise at his own discretion, and freely to choose his place of work.

This kind of "failure to dock" is also observed in the interpretation of the question of forming a national working class. The reasoning of the Gosplan chairman on the potential in the sense of "vaulting" and "weight lifting" by any particular person is quite convincing but it is irrelevant to the subject of discussion. In fact, as I understand it, it is a question of the republic, not being interested any more in a flow of labor from outside, should concern itself to form a skilled labor force for the newly opened or expanded enterprises. And we shall not manage without new shops, and perhaps also plants, factories and other production subdivisions. Of course, and here I agree fully with E. Savisaar, when this is done it is essential to weigh carefully all the possible consequences for the ecological situation in a region and in the republic. No production facility should cause harm to nature or to the health of people as an integral part of nature. There is no argument here.

Belorussian Plenum Sets Congress for Sep 1990

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[Text] Minsk, 18 Oct (BELTA-TASS)—In the course of the fundamental renewal of society many problems have been laid bare. They require profound comprehension, the working out of new solutions which are designed to speed up the reforms which are taking place in the socioeconomic, ideological, and organizational and political spheres. This was discussed today at a plenum of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

Yefrem Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report at the plenum.

The plenum decided to convene the next congress of the republic's communist party in September 1990.

The plenum elected Aleksey Kamay, who previously worked as first secretary of Gomel oblast party committee, as secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

Georgian, Oblast Representatives Discuss Concerns

PM1610102389 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 30 Sep 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and N. Chitanava, chairman of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers, met with representatives of the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast public 28 September.

A principled and frank discussion on the prevailing sociopolitical situation in South Osetia was held. It was noted that of late specific groups of people have stepped up their activities in an attempt to destablize political and economic life in the autonomous oblast through misinformation of the population, inflammatory statements, exaggeration of the problems which exist in various spheres of social life, and incitement and the organization of events to this effect. They are trying to pit the Georgian and Osetian peoples against each other and break their indestructible friendship sealed by centuries of joint struggle and labor.

The meeting participants noted unanimously that the Georgian and Osetian peoples have always lived in harmony, sharing common interests and aspiring to a common goal. Today all the necessary steps must be taken to ensure that these age-old traditions are not broken and to strengthen the faith that the Georgian and

Osetian peoples can continue to live together in an atmosphere of concord and mutual support. This is a reality to which is there is no alternative.

The people whom this does not suit, who are artificially whipping up tension and ignoring public opinion and the demands for law and order, must be made accountable before the law and the people. The stance of every citizen, the intelligentsia, young people, all labor collectives, and party, soviet, and law enforcement organs must be imbued with a sense of concrete responsibility. The voice of the public at large must ring out more effectively from clear, lofty civic positions.

Everyone must absorb the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee September Plenum and M.S. Gorbachev's guidelines on reinforcing law and order, the smooth functioning of the national economy, the senselessness of territorial claims, and the vital necessity of unswervingly upholding the principles of social justice, mutual respect between people of all nationalities, and the development of their languages and cultures, and fill them with practical content.

Concrete proposals and suggestions were put forward at the meeting with a view to defusing the situation which has taken shape in the autonomous oblast. It was emphasized that a range of measures will be elaborated to resolve a whole series of problems in social, economic, and cultural life, and to create favorable conditions for the development of the Osetian language. Cadre questions, youth problems, and other issues will become the target of more closer concern. All these questions, it was stressed at the meeting, can be resolved only through joint efforts in an atmosphere of trust and respect, mutual support, and tranquillity.

The meeting was attended by B. Dzhikiya, secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and G. Mgeladze, first deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers.

Judicial Power Against 'Extremist' Groups Urged

PM1810151589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Supreme Value; The National Factor Must Be Taken into Account in Party Work"]

[Text] Economic reform, the renewal of the political system, and the creation of a rule-of-law state—all this presupposes the broad democratization of social processes. From these positions—in a revolutionary and democratic manner—the party is also solving one of the most acute and vital questions—the nationalities question.

Today's situation in interethnic relations is assessed as very complex. And in some regions it is critical. Unsolved questions have surfaced one after the other here, mistakes and distortions permitted over many decades have made themselves felt, and interethnic conflicts, which have been smoldering away for years, have flared up. Socioeconomic and state-legal, economic, and demographic problems, and problems of developing language and culture and preserving national traditions have been woven into a tight knot which cannot be cut at one stroke. Each of them requires an enormous amount of attention, the fate of whole nations lies behind each of them.

The party is faced with the task of discussing, thoroughly and from principled positions, the state of national relations in the country and working out a modern strategy on the national question. M.S. Gorbachev's report at the CPSU Central Committee September (1989) plenum, the pointed and meaningful speeches of its participants, and the platform adopted under the title "The Party's Nationalities Policy in Modern Conditions" show that one cannot count on perestroyka's success without solving the problems of interethnic relations. In precisely the same way it is impossible to give fresh impetus to the Soviet federation without developing perestroyka processes and without democratizing and humanizing socialist society.

Yes, recently in our country distortions in the sphere of national relations, and the fatal consequences of excessive centralism, bureaucratic management, and unfairness tolerated regarding a number of peoples have been greatly and fiercely criticized. This criticism is justified and necessary. But, it was stressed at the plenum, despite the mistakes tolerated, the main point of the Soviet state's development needs to be seen. We do not have the right to forget that it is a question of assessing the life and fate, the thoughts and actions of all those who built this state, who carried on their shoulders the burden of overcoming the country's economic backwardness, defended the motherland in single formation in the Great Patriotic War, and raised it from ruins in the postwar years.

Can the difficulties and problems which have erupted really be allowed to supplant fundamental values formed over 7 decades of Soviet power? The values on which our multinational country is founded. Of course not. And for this reason the party is against attempts to abandon what has been done so far.

The party attaches particular significance to the best correlation between international and the national factors and to applying this Marxist-Leninist idea in the current situation. It is a question of creating conditions for each nation's free and all-around development, strengthening the Union—the source of the peoples' well-being—and combining the desire of nations for independence and the need to deepen integrative ties. The key factor here is the implementation of the Leninist principle of nations' self-determination. Some radically-minded individuals reduce self-determination to just separation, distorting the true picture. Practice shows that self-determination is not a single act. It is a complex diverse process of confirming national dignity, developing language and culture, and strengthening political

independence and economic and social progress. A significant extension of republics' rights, economic accountability and self-financing—all these are specific levers for nations' self-determination.

Soviet autonomous formations will be given a new status within the framework of the Soviet federation's transformation. The significant extension of the rights of autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs will undoubtedly affect their success in state, economic, and cultural development. National rayons in areas densely populated by a given nationality, and also all-union councils of citizens of numerically large nations, who do not have their own national-territorial formations, are being created. All these are signs of our times, signs of perestroyka.

While implementing the policy for society's democratic development, the party stresses at the same time that abuses of democracy by extremist elements, and provocation by them of interethnic clashes will be stopped with the full force of our laws. It would appear that it is no longer possible to delay in formulating acts enabling the courts to ban or disband nationalist, chauvinist, or other extremist organizations and their press organs. Alas, they are already making themselves felt in various areas of the country, and by no means in the best way.

Examining the whole package of questions connected with opening up the potential of the Soviet federation, the party draws attention to the need to approach with particular attention and sensitivity everything relating to the spiritual sphere, where the combination of national and international aspects take on particular significance. And to the development of science, culture, national traditions, and a lot else by which our peoples have been enriched. Recently the language problem has become acute. The right enshrined in the platform of the indigenous population of all republics to approve their language as the state language, and to give Russian the status of a statewide language in the USSR, creates a good base for economic, political, and cultural contact among peoples and for their joint creative activity.

The crucial significance of the CPSU Central Committee September plenum in the development of our federation and interethnic relations, it would appear, is indisputable. Party organizations are faced with the task of ensuring in accordance with the plenum's directives that the national factor is taken into account as far as possible in all organizational-political, ideological, and cadre work.

A lot depends on how each of us will implement the CPSU platform. Soviet people have many spiritual values which we are called upon to treasure and increase. But the peoples' friendship is, perhaps, supreme among the supreme values which we must carry through the ages. For the sake of the present and future generations.

Sociological Association on Nationalities

18300827C Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 19 Sep 89 p 3

[Article by V. Ivanov, doctor of philosophical sciences, vice president of the Soviet Sociological Association: "In the Mirror of Sociology"]

[Text] **Problems of interethnic relations are rapidly coming to the fore. We all want to understand what is taking place in this sphere of our life and why. Bitter disputes and discussions are being held, typified by a high level of emotion and rapid change in public attitudes and opinions—from hearty approval to no less hearty rejection of planned reforms, from constructive proposals to the appearance of adventurism and extremism. The heightened emotions and passions are being felt at all levels—from the local labor collective to the Congress of People's Deputies.**

All this, of course, makes is more difficult to search for concrete solutions to urgent and extremely crucial problems. One must say candidly that a great many of them actually have accumulated—social and spiritual and economic and ecological. These were discussed quite precisely in the draft CPSU platform "The Party National Policy Under Modern Conditions." Their complex interweaving and their acuteness convince us of the need for a calm, sober, and comprehensive approach which takes into account nationwide and national-territorial interests, strategic and tactical tasks of socialist creativity, the interests of the center, which wants to remain strong, and the interests of the republics, which want to become strong.

A sociological analysis of the mass consciousness, which plays a largely decisive role at turning points—as people now say, fateful moments—should help us to understand the causes of what is going on, to evaluate it correctly, and to make predictions. Without going in to what is dominating the mass consciousness today, it is difficult to assess what is taking place in interethnic relations and it is quite impossible to predict changes that will take place in the next few years.

It is obvious that in the modern ideological circumstances brought about by perestroyka and the search for causes of the numerous distortions of socialism, a reassessment of the past activates the mass consciousness. But does this activization always contribute to a positive solution to the crucial problems and the overcoming of the distortions that exist? Certainly not.

It has turned out that purely negative aspects have ended up at the center of the interpretation and reinterpretation of the past. Moreover, certain of them seem to be "resurrected" again, calling for "social revenge," and sweeping aside everything positive and vitally important in the historical ties and interactions of the peoples. Of course here we need a balanced approach and the ability, as it were, to separate the grain of friendship from the

chaff of animosity and mistrust, the mistakes and injustice of the past. Alas, many people simply do not understand this today. Moreover, the formation of this understanding is made more difficult by the activity of, frankly, nationalistically oriented extremists who are counting on national egoism and national isolation.

The idea of what today characterizes **mass consciousness** directed toward problems of interethnic relations and the assessments, stereotypes, and ideas formed in it is provided to a sufficient degree by the extensive sociological research conducted by associates of the Institute of Sociology of the USSR Academy of Sciences in a number of regions of the country where they questioned 12,000 people of various nationalities representing the employed population of a number of republics and oblasts—Georgia, Lithuania, Kirghizia, Kaluga Oblast, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Lvov Oblast, the Ukraine, Bashkiria, and Tataria. The results that were obtained can be regarded as unique "points of reference," and by comparing them with the results of recent research it is possible to trace the changes that are taking place and reveal the main tendencies.

Let us discuss the results that characterize the socioeconomic sphere and questions of supply of food and industrial goods. The deficit has affected all regions of the country to one degree or another. The measures projected during the course of perestroyka for overcoming it have not yet produced the proper results and a considerable number of the respondents think that there has been no improvement in the supply of foodstuffs. In Turkmenia they comprised almost half, in Tajikistan and Kirghizia—67 percent, in Georgia—63 percent, Lvov Oblast—four out of five, and in the Tatar and Bashkir ASSR's [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]—even more.

Dissatisfaction with the supply of consumer goods leads many people to be dissatisfied with the existing practice of distribution of the unionwide gross output. Approximately half (in some places more, in some places less) of the indigenous population of the corresponding regions thinks that **their republic gives the other republics more products than it receives from them,** and the help for their republics from others is regarded as inadequate.

This kind of assessment cannot be regarded merely as an expression of national egoism or an "honest mistake in judgment." It must be recognized that in a number of cases **there is justification for the dissatisfaction.** We are speaking **about socially unjustified regional differences at the level of material provision for the population.** According to data of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, 15 percent of the families in the country as a whole have an average per capita income of less than R75 a month. But about half of these families live in the republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan where there is a predominance of families with many children.

Of course earnings are also influenced by the level of qualifications, and in those regions it frequently turns out to be lower for the indigenous population. And in the cities the previously rural residents do not do as well as the people who have always lived in the city. And frequently this fact is perceived with a certain national hidden meaning. It is understandable that the reason for this situation lies in the extensive character of the development of the regions, which is linked to the need to attract significant quantities of work force "from the outside." And the reaction to migration from other union republics is another one of the indicators of the condition of interethnic relations.

In spite of the fact that a considerable number of those questioned (and in certain republics, the majority) generally have a correct understanding of the need for migration, on the whole this problem has been aggravated recently: An extremely significant percentage of indigenous residents are against having people of other nationalities come to their republic. According to the data from the poll, this is typical of Tajiks and Lithuanians to the greatest extent.

The dissatisfaction with migrant workers is growing, as a rule, also under conditions of aggravation of the personnel situation (greater supply than demand for individual occupations and most frequently of an intellectual nature), the increased shortage of goods and services, and also growing tendencies toward national isolation.

Why do representatives of nonindigenous nationalities leave the republics in which they are living? There are various reasons. There is the desire to improve their material position. But there are also such reasons as the fact that they do not know the language or the local customs. The hostile attitude from the local population also has an effect. The situation in Tajikistan, for example, is typical in this respect. Each year more and more people of nonindigenous nationalities are leaving the republic, particularly Russians. In a number of regions there are only a few representatives of nonindigenous nationalities left, and in some none at all. The number of interethnic marriages is decreasing.

Another reason for the outflow of the Russian-speaking population from the union and autonomous republics was the legislative acts adopted recently concerning the state language (for example, in Moldavia) and the policy for elections to soviets (for example, the residency requirement in Estonia), which evoked disagreement from a considerable part of the population of the republics because they were nondemocratic and encroached upon human rights, and also created prerequisites for unjustified privileges depending on nationality.

An important characteristic of the social situation of the people is, in particular, the possibility of professional growth and career advancement. It would seem that this should depend on the business, political, and moral qualities of the person and not on his nationality. But practice convinces people of the opposite and other

evaluations and opinions are formed. One-third of those questioned in all regions think that a person's nationality influences his job advancement. In Kirghizia this opinion was even expressed by half, and in Bashkiria, Lithuania, and Tataria, by every fourth person.

And is there a dependency between nationality and the possibility of entering a higher educational institution? In the opinion of a considerable proportion of those questioned in various regions, this dependency does exist. The largest number of people who think this were in the republics of Central Asia—an average of up to 50 percent throughout the region, in Georgia—33 percent, Lithuania—24, and Bashkiria—38 percent. It is typical that the Russian population of the national republics notes the influence of nationality on the possibility of entering a VUZ considerably more frequently than the indigenous population does.

National stereotypes in the mass consciousness are one of the inescapable characteristics of its condition. They are manifested most clearly in interethnic communication and determine its cultural level.

Attention is drawn to the fact that, for example, negative statements about other nationalities, their customs and traditions are widespread. Cases of this were found in Turkmenia—54 percent, Kirghizia—56, Georgia—55, and Lithuania—64 percent of those questioned. This is explained primarily by insignificant experience in interethnic communication and hence the inability or lack of desire to understand the culture and historical values of the way of life of other people, a kind of intolerance to what is different and "strange," the evaluation of it from hearsay or on the basis of rumors, and an exaggeration of negative acts and behavior that actually have occurred, and a belief in national exclusivity. There is no doubt that all this has a negative effect on interethnic relations which cause periodic outbursts of malevolence and even hostility.

Another constituent part of mass awareness must be kept in mind when considering the problem of interethnic relations—religious feelings and beliefs.

A new attitude toward religion and the church—a calmer, more loyal and more moderate one—is becoming the norm everywhere. But the conservatism of religious denominations, their dogmatism, and frequently their intolerance of people with different beliefs ("nonbelievers"), if they are allowed to develop, can complicate interethnic relations even more. The religious in the mass consciousness is frequently equated with the ethnic. And a strengthening of the positions of religion in the spiritual life of society can lead not only to the establishment of universal human values and ideals of good and kindness that unite people, but also, under certain conditions, to increased mistrust, hostility, and intolerance of people who believe differently, which can separate and even cause disputes among peoples (the events in Fergana give reason for alarm on this plane). It is especially dangerous to politicize religion and in some cases to try to maintain (or even establish) archaic relations of past ages. All this has essentially already become a factor that seriously complicates perestroyka and therefore even today should be taken into account in the entire system of political, legislative, ideological, and educational work.

All this shows the complex and contradictory nature of the processes that are taking place. The mass consciousness is inert. And, of course, any positive changes in the spirit of perestroyka will take time. But now there is a serious danger that the dissatisfaction that exists for various reasons, the inadequate evaluations of the past and present, and the excessive nervousness and excitation can be used by various kinds of informal organizations of a nationalistic persuasion and anarchic elements to destabilize the situation and sow international discord and separatist attitudes. There is a sociopsychological basis for this at the present time. This is very alarming in and of itself and should be taken into account by all who truly value the goals of perestroyka.

RSFSR Parliament Discusses Draft Plan, Budget

LD1810230189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] A discussion at the first reading of the republic's draft plan and budget for the coming year took place today at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. The documents' orientation toward social priorities was noted—according to preliminary outlines, the construction of 80 million square meters of accommodation alone lies ahead. This means that 1.5 million families will move into new apartments. The proportion of rural accommodation construction is large. The drafts have been elaborated taking into account the deepening of radical economic reform. The drafts' orientation toward the harmonious development of various regions of the republics noticeable. Special attention is devoted to further measures of the development of autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs. The general opinion of deputies on the drafts of the plan and budget still need to be thoroughly worked on. In particular regional problems, issues of the cooperative movement, and the balancing of the market require special study.

Committee Discusses Anticrime Measures 18 Oct

LD1810204989 Moscow TASS in English 2032 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—A regular meeting of the provisional committee for combatting crime in the USSR held in Moscow today, endorsed a model statute on provisional committees for combatting crime.

Soviet Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin and Soviet Minister of Justice Veniamin Yakovlev told the meeting about the course of the implementation of the instruction from the Congress of USSR People's Deputies to draw up a state comprehensive programme for combatting crime.

It was decided to speed up its drafting and to hold deputies' expertise of the draft. Proposals of the USSR Interior Ministry to use exceptional measures to combat crime, have been discussed.

The committee's meeting heard reports of the USSR minister of trade, the chairman of the board of Centrosoyuz, the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperative Societies, and the proposals of the USSR interior minister to step up the effort to combat speculation and abuse in trade.

It was recommended to take decisive measures to eliminate the conditions conductive to violations of rules of trade and to discharge persons abusing their position.

The provisional committees of union republics were instructed to consider the question of perfecting the legislation on combating speculation and abuses in trade with taking into account specific conditions in republics.

Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the provisional committee, first vice-president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said that the main task faced by provisional committees is to organise interaction of soviets, law enforcement bodies, work collectives and broad public and individual citizens for resolving pressing tasks of combatting crime.

Accounting to soviets of people's deputies, provisional committees are called upon to use effectively all the powers of state bodies, their organisational capabilities, personnel and material resources, to draw on the resources of society and above all, on the system of justice.

Their activity should be effected in conditions of utmost glasnost.

Lukyanov said that all the work of provisional committees should assert the principle that in a law-governed state, crime must be combatted only by lawful means.

He noted that intensifying the struggle against organized crime, against speculation and criminal manifestations in the activity of cooperatives, among youth, combatting drug addiction, it is necessary not to lose sight of the need for social rehabilitation and job placement of persons who have served their prison terms.

Constant attention should be given to crime prevention aimed at eradicating causes and conditions conducive to crime in the economy, in trade and in daily living.

Vorotnikov Chairs Meeting on RSFSR Crime 29 Sep

PM0410091589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Session of Interim Committee"]

[Text] A routine session of the interim Committee to Combat Crime in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] was held 29 September. It heard a report from leaders of the republic's law-enforcement bodies on the steps they are taking to step up the fight against crime. It was noted that a certain amount of work has been carried out since the adoption of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution dated 4 August 1989 to improve the forms and methods of activity of internal affairs organs, the prosecutor's office, the justice organs, and the courts. These bodies are more closely coordinating their efforts to investigate and examine the most serious crimes, combat organized crime, and take preventive measures. The internal affairs organs' material base has been somewhat improved of late, as has their equipment. Local soviets of people's deputies, enterprises, collective farms, and state farms play a considerable role in this. They have allocated material resources and equipment and facilities. Workers teams have been set up to assist the militia and are in operation in many cities. Their role in crime prevention is increasing.

It was stressed at the session that the measures being taken to combat crime must be founded on strict observance of socialist legality, which precludes arbitrary treatment or the violation of citizens' rights and freedoms. In this connection the role of prosecutor's office supervision of the precise and uniform enforcement of the laws by all state bodies, public organizations, officials, and citizens is increasing.

Questions of enhancing the quality of judicial activity and strictly complying with democratic principles in legal procedure when considering cases are still most important.

The committee session examined and approved a plan of measures to step up the fight against crime in the RSFSR and discussed certain proposals to improve existing legislation.

Comrade V.I. Vorotnikov, chairman of the temporary Committee to Combat Crime in the RSFSR, chaired the session.

Inequalities Seen as Root of Ethnic Strife

PM0210091589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor I. Antonovich, prorector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, under the "Reverberation of the Plenum" rubric: "Every Color of the Spectrum"]

[Text] We have been witness to a growing wave of interethnic conflict in the country for several years now. And those processes are, alas, intensifying rather than abating. The measures taken to settle them are manifestly ineffective. And our knowledge of the nature and causes of what is happening is sometimes inadequate. These are facts, and it is foolish not to acknowledge them. We still spend more time talking about urgent interethnic problems than proposing specific ways of solving them. Yes, they were bequeathed us by the era of stagnation. But even here we have been inconsistent, for we have been inclined to see national relations as unproblematic. And while we have exposed omissions in

the nationalities policy of the era of stagnation, we are still making quite a few mistakes right now. This was put extremely trenchantly at the past CPSU Central Committee plenum.

What actually is happening, then? Some features do stand out clearly amid the diversity of crisis problems. First, if you look at the geographical distribution of incidents of deteriorating national relations, you have to conclude that it is those areas into which ethnic groups were forcibly introduced during the Stalin era that have flared up. The Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans, Chechen-Ingush people, and others were the first to pose a national problem. National tension today is producing outbreaks of trouble in regions where considerable numbers of representatives of other nationalities have been introduced or conflicting decisions made in regard to them as, say, in Nagorno-Karabakh: The oblast was put first under one republic, then the other. The very important lesson which we should draw from this is that history will not tolerate any forcible introductions, resettlements, or arbitrary decisions. Everything done in an arbitrary way will seek sooner or later, in less favorable conditions, to return to its former natural state. Hence the following conclusion should be drawn: **The era of accelerating social processes at all costs must be left behind.**

But that is not all. It is time to come to understand in depth the factors causing the exacerbation of interethnic relations. We routinely put them down to unresolved social problems, and therein may lie our chief error. The problems of interethnic relations and the nationalities policy originally arose in precisely those regions of the country (the Baltic and the Transcaucasus) where everything is more prosperous than in the other republics.

The problem therefore resides not so much in social problems as a lack of justice in their solution. If we are to judge the recent events in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan from the information we receive, it is inequality of groups' living standards that is at the bottom of it; plus, of course, the wounding of national pride.

It is well known that national minorities endeavor to work harder than the peoples of the major nations in whose midst they find themselves. This has always served as a ground for discontent everywhere. At critical moments, when the differences between the living standards of national minorities and the major nations become particularly pronounced, outbreaks of aggression, mass revolts, various kinds of protest, and acts of vandalism and violence are possible. Judging by all accounts, property inequality among national groups was one of the causes of the disturbances in Fergana.

Each specific case deserves the most detailed and careful analysis: You cannot have a universal approach for the Baltic, Belorussia, the Ukraine, Moldavia, and the Transcaucasus. The regions are contending with their own difficulties and can only get out of the situation if local conditions are taken into account and, most importantly, they make their own efforts.

When the solution of national problems through local efforts is under discussion, one is struck not simply by the intensity of the conflicts but by the conflicting sides' quite obvious organization and prior preparation, which required quite a substantial amount of time. This means that forces were developing in society ready for this exacerbation. And this escaped local authorities' notice. Where does the problem lie here? In the incompetence of local leadership or the impossibility of preventing such processes?

Here I argue not as an economist but as a sociologist; nevertheless I do want to ask a specific question: Is a special economic policy aimed at preventing interethnic problems possible? In my view, such a policy cannot exist. The whole task here is to ensure that the economic situation of the regions develops in accordance with the principle of social justice and the socialist principle of distribution according to labor.

But therein lies the whole problem—that nowadays work is not the same: Some work more, others less. How can work be organized so that the principle of social justice, which offers unequal pay for unequal labor, be perceived as the norm by all groups of our country's population? Since there is no single economic formula capable of preventing a flareup in interethnic relations, there should be a political guideline on social justice backed up by a serious and well-considered economic policy and a system of legislation guaranteeing social justice. An ideological and educational strategy explaining the normality of distribution according to labor and of greater pay for better work is also needed.

A multinational state needs a developed model of economic programs. They may be based on standard economic accountability. But this is as many-sided as the differences between regions are inexhaustible. One place will need base production structures capable of employing the whole active population, another will require carefully considered social measures to disperse the population throughout the population's territory. In sum, this comes down to a large political task: the task of ensuring that no group—be it based on age, nationality, or social status—feels in any way infringed upon. Every republic should put forward its own social justice programs.

We are not talking about primitive wage-leveling — depriving the representatives of national minorities of money they have earned and channeling it into social needs. That will never yield a positive result. What is needed is a far more profound policy: Those categories of the population whose economic prosperity and social rights and aspirations have been adversely affected must be raised to at least the average level typical of the republic.

Why do I stress the local authorities' role? Experience in holding round-table discussions in various parts of the

country and analysis carried out by experts show that much that subsequently formed into an explosive social mixture was circulating for a long time in local production collectives. And much could have been prevented by timely measures.

What do these problems look like from the economic angle? Our society has proved strong not so much through classes as communities. For the first time in analyzing the situation in the Fergana Valley the mass media have begun talking about communities and, in particular, the Turkic minority, which has formed into a pretty well-organized, closed community. It is difficult to say whether this definition of the Turkic minority is sufficiently reliable, but the community is clannish and closed, and structural mutation has undoubtedly taken place within our social systems.

At some stage all the multinational formations quietly began to break up into such communal units or, more accurately, separate communal entities, but this escaped the notice of both political and civic authorities at local level. The development of this community helped to increase the isolation along ethnic lines. Hostility was thus fueled. With a constantly deteriorating economic situation, this all ended in frenzied outbreaks of violence.

How is this communal exclusivity to be overcome? It is important to restore and revive structures which transcend these community-clan interests. Economic policy must be augmented by a strong social policy. The 27th CPSU Central Committee Congress steered society in this direction. But we social scientists have not yet concurred on what should be understood by social policy.

Communal separation and isolation is not so easy to overcome. In my opinion, in the process of restoring respect for and interest in national languages and reviving national cultures, customs, and traditions the danger emerges of intensifying diversive trends. I have no desire to highlight just the negative aspects of this national revival. On the contrary, the national revival is one of the most positive phenomena of our restructuring. But it is necessary to foresee right now the full equality of each and every national-cultural formation in every region of the country, irrespective of whether it represents the interests of the indigenous or nonindigenous nationality.

It is impossible to divide the nations and nationalities of our country into indigenous and nonindigenous. They are all indigenous in the sense that they are entitled to count on the protection of the law in organizing their own lives and developing their own native culture, traditions, and language.

The following conclusion can be drawn from the above: A well-considered and realistic social policy is acutely necessary today. A policy free from dogmas and vestiges of war communism. And there is no point in reducing everything to a shortage of goods. The spectrum of social problems bound up with the national situation in the country is far wider. It is essential to learn to distinguish every color in it.

PRAVDA Outlines Political Study Tasks

PM1509120089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed article: "Perestroyka Demands Knowledge and a Highly Developed Political Culture: The Beginning of the Academic Year in the Political Education System"]

[Text] Soviet society has entered an exceptionally crucial period in its history, which marks a turning point in the destiny of our people, socialism, and mankind as a whole. Profound, revolutionary transformations are taking place in all spheres—economic, social, political, spiritual, and ideological. A drastic change is taking place, coupled with the establishment of modern democratic forms of public life. The humane content and true face of socialism are being revived. Perestroyka has released social energy and given a powerful boost to the masses' self-awareness. The country is in motion—more and more millions of Soviet people are becoming actively involved in sociopolitical activity.

At the same time it is obvious that today the party and country are basically going through a critical stage in perestroyka. The political and ideological situation in society is characterized by a range of complex, sometimes contradictory processes, trends, and phenomena. The state's financial position and the situation in the economy and on the market for consumer goods and services, especially food, have deteriorated. The growing tension in interethnic relations and the growth of nationalist sentiments among certain population groups are causing serious concern.

Society is seeing an intensification of the politicalization of the masses, dissatisfaction with the pace of transformations, and differentiation and polarization of opinions. The party, waging an intensive struggle for the socialist renewal of our Motherland, has to surmount both the resistance of dogmatic, conservative forces and the onslaughts of left-radical groupings. A particular danger is represented by extremist actions and calls for the abandonment of the values of socialism, for the mechanical imitation of bourgeois experience, and for the revival of private ownership and enterprise. The CPSU is subjected to severe attacks from various directions and its role as society's political vanguard is called into question. The party itself is going through a difficult period in the perestroyka of intraparty life. An analysis of all these phenomena in public awareness and mentality shows that they are caused to a large degree by the confusion that exists in many people's minds, their failure to understand the meaning of the current processes, and the collapse of familiar landmarks.

That is why ideological work is becoming one of the most important areas of activity for the Communist Party.

The situation that has developed in the country requires every Communist to adopt a principled stand in the struggle to uphold and consolidate the humanist ideals of socialism and the CPSU's vanguard role in society, strengthen its ideological unity, and rally all healthy forces and independent organizations and movements to the platform of perestroyka. The combination of creative Marxism-Leninism and the party's policy with the revolutionary transforming activity of the masses is a decisive factor in renewing society and endowing it with a new quality.

In this connection a fundamentally new kind of ideological work is needed today—ideological work that is free from dogmatism, formalism, stereotyping, obsolete methods, and the administrative edict style. It should be anticipatory in nature, keep ahead of the development of events, put forward bold ideas and explain them to people, and promote everything that is progressive and the resolution of the problems that arise. It should be open, accessible, creative, and oriented toward and existing for people.

In the course of implementation of the 15 September 1987 CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Perestroyka in the System of Political and Economic Education of Working People," certain changes for the better have already taken place—democratic principles are proving themselves in the organization of [illegible] didactic forms and methods of study are becoming a thing of the past and the propaganda corps is being renewed and strengthened.

Unfortunately by no means full use is yet being made of the enormous potential inherent in the political education system. It still lags seriously behind the rapidly developing events in public life and is insufficiently receptive to the new conditions, which are characterized by broad glasnost, pluralism of opinions and approaches, heated debates, rallies, and even such extreme phenomena as strikes. "We cannot, comrades," M.S. Gorbachev noted at the conference of first secretaries of union republic Communist Party Central Committee and party kray committees [kraykoms] and oblast committees [obkoms] held at the CPSU Central Committee, "look on calmly at the present situation, where, while passions seethe all around us in society, opinions clash, and rallies rage, total peace and quiet reigns in many party organizations."

It must be admitted that the content, forms, and methods of political education are now in a critical condition, and perestroyka here is going slowly and haltingly. The appeal and authority of political studies have declined markedly in the eyes of many working people. This is primarily because political education has not yet managed to overcome the outmoded didactic approach and its purely academic educational thrust. In present-day conditions Communists and Soviet people need knowledge not as an end in itself, as passive baggage, but as a tool enabling them to find their bearings in a complex situation and participate actively and consciously in the political and ideological struggle, the revolutionary transformation of society, and the resolution of perestroyka's concrete tasks.

Resolute and at the same time unorthodox measures are needed both centrally and locally in terms of radically restructuring the political education system, ceasing to undervalue it, giving it an up-to-date, more attractive image and content, and eradicating the theoretical and political ignorance that is common among some Communists and nonparty people. **The new academic year, 1989-1990, in the political education system must be a year of the renewal of education and the strengthening of its real influence on the ideological and theoretical development of Communists and all working people, the heightening of the militancy and vanguard role of party organizations, and the improvement of the political, socioeconomic, and moral situation in every labor collective and in society as a whole.**

Political education will only become useful and essential if it helps Communists and nonparty people to interpret from Marxist-Leninist standpoints the full depth of the renewal processes taking place in society, and if it illuminates the ways of resolving practical tasks in perestroyka. In the present situation it must necessarily [illegible] on a united ideological basis and [illegible] the level of the latest achievements of Marxist thought. To this end in the new academic year it is necessary to update and enrich the content, forms, and methods of political education and orient it toward preparing people, first and foremost Communists, for intelligent, energetic political actions. There is no better place than the political education system for the party activist and member of society to master the skills of polemics, of debate, of persuading other people and changing their minds, upholding true socialist values, defending the party's interests, and formulating constructive proposals.

In the coming academic year the political education system is called upon to make a major contribution to perestroyka and democratization in intraparty life, and the enhancement of the militancy and vanguard role of party organizations and all Communists. It cannot remain aloof and inactive in the debate that is already in progress on the cleaning up of intraparty life, the renewal of the party's image, and its role as society's political vanguard. In the opinion of many Communists, propagandists, and study organizers the first classes on the topic **"Perestroyka in party work—an important key task of today"** could be a form of direct involvement in this debate. The intention is to examine in these classes the problems that were discussed at the conference of first secretaries of union republic Communist Party Central Committees and party kraykoms and obkoms held at the CPSU Central Committee in July 1989, as well as concrete questions of perestroyka in the activity of primary party organizations that have arisen in the course of their report and election meetings. The discussion of the problem of renewal in the party could continue

throughout the academic year. To this end, party organizations, propagandists, and students are offered the opportunity to choose a new 1-year study course, **"Perestroyka of the CPSU in a society undergoing renewal."** This course will enable students to participate from scientific and historical standpoints in the discussion and quest for solutions on the formation of a renewed image for the party and the attainment of a new quality in the activity of their own party organizations.

The main content, the ideological and theoretical core of political education should be made up of questions of the nature and characteristic features of the new face of socialism and the full restoration, in the process of perestroyka, in theory and in practice, of Lenin's concept of socialism, taking into account all the domestic and international realities of the modern world. Everything else ultimately comes together in this key problem—be it the new role of the party and the soviets in society's life or the changes in the nature and forms of ownership, economic reform or the establishment of social justice, the development of interethnic relations or the renewal of socialist ideology.

Questions of the theory and practice of the renewal of socialism and the building of a society where the free development of each is a condition of the free development of all should form an integral part of all topics and courses that may be chosen for study in the new academic year. This means both in the organization of studies on one or several current problems of the theory and practice of perestroyka, and in the selection of new 1-year courses on particular key issues in society's renewal, and in the continuation of studies on courses chosen earlier.

It is extremely important for the content of political education to give due space to problems of the reform of the political system, the building of a socialist rule-of-law state, and the establishment of true people's power. It is necessary to help the largest possible number of working people to study profoundly the nature of the new phenomena and processes of democratization emerging in the course of the elections of USSR people's deputies and the work of the first Congress (and later the second) and the session of the country's Supreme Soviet. Particular theoretical and practical interest lies in the current transfer of real power to the soviets and the creation of a new democratic mechanism for involving different population groups in resolving questions of statewide and local significance. The study of the new 1-year course "The soviets—full organs of people's power" will make it possible to find answers to many questions concerning the further development of socialist democracy. Studies on this course will enable the students to prepare themselves to play an active part in the elections to the local soviets of people's deputies.

In the new year paramount attention should be devoted to problems of the party's nationalities policy in present-day conditions as one of the most important components of the overall concept of perestroyka. The main avenues of nationalities policy in present conditions are set forth in the draft CPSU platform, which, after nationwide discussion, will be examined at a party Central Committee plenum. The CPSU Central Committee Statement on the Situation in the Soviet Baltic Republics stressed forcefully that the resolution of the problems that have arisen in the sphere of national relations is of enormous significance for the fate of perestroyka and the future of our country. In view of the fact that the complications that have arisen in this sphere require goodwill and profound mutual understanding by all the peoples of the Soviet Union, it is expedient after the CPSU Central Committee plenum to submit questions of the party's nationalities policy in present conditions for study by many labor collectives, the intelligentsia, and young people.

The content of political education must make provision for a comprehensive examination of the avenues of transformations in the economic and social spheres. The interest in these is indisputable, since it is here that the future will be decided for the creation of fitting working and living conditions for Soviet people, the problems of food, housing, and nature conservation, and the development of education, health care, science, and culture.

Soviet people are also concerned about topical problems of the development of the modern world and the international activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and there is still a need to clarify the concept of the new political thinking, which is based on recognition of the paramountcy of common human interests and values and freedom of choice of paths of development for countries and peoples. The radical change in our country's foreign policy course is associated with this. The implementation of this course creates objective opportunities for reaching a fundamentally new, peaceful period in mankind's history.

The **organization of courses** both on individual topical themes and on the basis of programs already operating in the political education system will make it possible to satisfy the need for knowledge on all questions of domestic and foreign policy. Here it must be borne in mind that methodologists, course organizers, and propagandists have not only the right, but the duty to amend courses in order to respond promptly to the most important phenomena in sociopolitical life, those problems that concern people most at a given moment. Naturally, the content of courses should reflect the decisions of recent CPSU Central Committee plenums, the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and the Supreme Soviet session and the provisions and conclusions contained in party and government documents.

The experience of party committees in independently formulating study courses on the basis of local problems and specific needs is worthy of approval. As was stressed at the conference of chiefs of the houses of political enlightenment of union republic Communist Party Central Committees and party kraykoms and obkoms held in July of this year, primary party organizations have every

right, on the basis of local conditions and the specific characteristics and interests of students, to decide for themselves which topics and courses to choose and in what form to study them.

In order to restructure political education in practice, it is necessary resolutely to exclude didacticism and the spirit of cliquish isolation and exclusivity within political schools and seminars. Today we need lively dialogue, the frank exchange of opinions, creative debates, the analysis of concrete situations, and the formulation of constructive proposals in any form of education.

The experience of the first years of perestroyka in the education system shows that the organization of political clubs promotes an active, creative approach to the acquisition of knowledge. It is expedient to make wider use of the experience of their work not only among young people, but also for courses with Communists. The use of discussion forms of study makes it possible to surmount people's isolation from one another, from the collective, and from society and to intensify their intellectual activity, stimulate an interest in knowledge and self-education, and bring them into the real political process.

Party organizations are called upon to improve the quality of leadership of political education and deepen the processes of its democratization. Many of them have not yet freed themselves from the mentality of waiting for instructions from above, nor from the administrative edict style. Communists note that they are not consulted enough and their interests are only poorly taken into account in the choice of problems and forms of study.

Many party committees and their elected organs underestimate the potential offered by education in the resolution of educational, political, and socioeconomic tasks and in rallying people ideologically.

The requirement for personal participation by first secretaries and party workers at all levels in the organization and holding of political courses is by no means everywhere fulfilled. Yet one effective way of strengthening the leadership of education is drastically to increase the political literacy and skills of full-time party workers and the aktiv. In this connection the experience of Moscow party organizations in setting up party political clubs as a new form of training merits attention and dissemination.

A key question in perestroyka in the education system is to improve the quality of propaganda work. The main thing here is cadres. It is no secret that many propagandists proved unprepared for the rapid politicization of society, the contradictory nature of opinions, judgments, and views, and the pressure from loudmouths and demagogues. Inadequate theoretical training and the low level of methodological skill and the orator's art play a part here. Some propagandists lose control over the atmosphere of study courses, avoid the discussion of tricky problems, and prefer to confine themselves to a range of traditional, purely theoretical issues. There are also some who, afraid of appearing conservative, play along with unhealthy views and sentiments and allow themselves to be guided by the ignorant. Obviously such ideological activists do more harm than good. It is important now to reinforce the propaganda corps with the country's best intellectual forces—people who know how to think in an unorthodox and analytical way and to defend socialist ideals and values by force of argument, people who are convinced of the correctness of the course of perestroyka. Party committees must systematically help them, create favorable conditions, and do everything to enhance the authority and prestige of propaganda work.

In the new academic year much work lies ahead in fulfilling the recently adopted CPSU Central Committee resolution "On measures to further strengthen and effectively utilize the material base of party committees' houses and offices of political enlightenment." The resolution draws the attention of party committee first secretaries to the need for more vigorous actions to implement CPSU Central Committee demands on turning houses of political enlightenment into modern educational, methodological, and organizational centers, strongholds of political work among different population categories. Along with a radical improvement in the training of propagandist and other ideological cadres and the educational, methodological, and information backup for courses, it is necessary to widen the zone of political influence and move toward dialogue and constructive collaboration with all movements that adhere to a platform of perestroyka and positions of socialism.

In the present complex and heated ideological and political atmosphere the role of political education is increasing more than ever. In order to enhance its effectiveness, a firm alliance of science and politics, propaganda and practice is needed. Today it is extremely important for party organizations to turn education into a reliable means of party influence on public awareness and the formation in every Communist of a committed, passionate fighter for the party's ideals, for socialism.

Call Made for Return to Leninist Principles

PM1110080789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

["Publicist's Notes" by parliamentary correspondent Captain 1st Rank V. Lukashevich under the rubric "Today Is USSR Constitution Day": "Rebirth"]

[Text] I am leafing through what you could now say are old pads with notes which I took at the First Congress of People's Deputies, and I recall the speakers' statements advocating an immediate change to the current USSR Constitution. On the very first day of the Congress' work Deputy G. Popov, for example, demanded that two amendments be made to the Fundamental Law. There was more to come. There were proposals which even included suspending certain articles of the Constitution.

But the Congress displayed collective wisdom and did not hastily recarve the chief document which has taken

shape over the decades of our "advances and retreats," to use military language, although it did acknowledge that some of its provisions do not accord with today's perestroyka in economic and political relations. The Congress of People's Deputies set up the authoritative Constitution Commission headed by M.S. Gorbachev. It is true, though, that quite recently, 2 October, I. Bogdanov, a deputy from Gorkiy and a member of this commission, addressed the Supreme Soviet session and pointed out in bewilderment that the commission has not yet taken a single step toward its goal and has not met even once although more than 3 months have already elapsed. Well, it is possible to understand the situation: Many other urgent problems have built up in the country...

However, let us return today to our origins, to October 1917, when the power of the working people was proclaimed for the first time. Its forms and methods exerted a tremendous influence on mankind's social progress, and we can be proud that we were the first in many democratic undertakings in the 20th century.

By consolidating the power won by the people, the USSR Constitution guaranteed for Soviet citizens the constant broadening of their political rights. Unfortunately, the period of Stalinism and then the years of stagnation subjected our political system to serious deformations and markedly held up that process. The people's masses were virtually debarred from power and from real involvement in state and public affairs. The verbal proclamation of democratic principles but authoritarianism in practice, rostrum invocations of people's power but voluntarism and subjectivism in practice, flouting of the norms of the socialist way of life, a lack of criticism and glasnost—our society paid a high price for all this.

And we had no political force other than the party to resolutely oppose the distortion of the Leninist principles of people's power and to restore the revolution's democratic traditions. The party assumed responsibility and proclaimed perestroyka—the consistent democratization of all aspects of life, the cardinal reform of the political system, and the rebirth of the soviets' sovereignty. We all witnessed the spring election campaign which stirred up the people's masses and made a breach in people's indifference and social passiveness. The First Congress of People's Deputies and then the USSR Supreme Soviet sessions convincingly showed that the people's elected representatives are becoming the genuine masters in the country, and today they are adopting fateful decisions and discussing questions of tremendous theoretical and practical significance. Preparations for the republic and local soviet elections are in full swing.

Perestroyka has given a strong boost to the provisions of the USSR Constitution on public organizations. Their activation is one area of the reform of the political system. The living creativity of the masses, of which V.I. Lenin spoke repeatedly, is today giving rise to new movements and substantially renewing the work of the trade unions, the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League, cooperatives, and other public organizations. We undoubtedly cannot manage without froth in this stormy flow aimed at renewing our life. All sorts of extremists, anti-Soviets, and nationalists are rearing their head. In some places calls for secession from the USSR are heard, there are continuing attempts to belittle the party's role in perestroyka, and interethnic strife is not dying down.

At the Central Committee's September plenum the party clearly analyzed the situation which has taken shape, calling things by their proper names. It confirmed that the union of equal nations and ethnic groups which has taken shape in the country is one of socialism's most important gains enshrined in the Constitution. There is no other healthy basis for our development than a consistent Leninist nationalities policy. Despite all the difficulties on the path traveled, today we can claim with confidence that our federation has stood the test of time and remains a decisive precondition of the further development of all the USSR's nations and ethnic groups. And the plenum confirmed this very definitely in the party platform on nationalities policy.

"The rebirth of democracy and the person's emancipation," Boris Oleynik said to me recently in the lobby of the Supreme Soviet session, "is a difficult process. It is connected with restoring the national awareness of representatives of all our republics, with restoring the rights of the individual and respect for his honor and dignity, and with enhancing his social tone. But, while protecting and guaranteeing in every possible way the rights and freedoms of our people, we must not lose sight of the strict observance of civic duties. Democracy presupposes sensible public order—a necessary guarantee of personal freedom."

It is impossible to disagree with the viewpoint of the deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities. A balance of rights and responsibility—this is the priority of the rule-of-law state which we have begun building.

In concluding these notes, I would like to speak also of the very word "rebirth." After appearing on the cover of the not unknown book by Brezhnev, in recent years it has, as it were, been "outlawed." But the return to the Leninist principles and norms of socialist communal life and the restructuring of our whole life are giving back their true meaning to many concepts which suffered from bans and distortions in the past. And I would place "rebirth" alongside words such as "glasnost," "pluralism," and "openness." The rebirth of Leninist traditions.

MVD Adds 5,000 Investigators To Handle Load

LD1710174189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1626 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 17 Oct (TASS)—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov reports: In the conditions of a rise in the crime rate in the USSR, the load on investigators at

the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] has risen severalfold. Over 8 months of the current year, they worked on over 1,365,000 criminal cases, which is 52 percent up on the similar period last year. Yuriy Kukushkin, first deputy chief of the Main Investigation Directorate of the Ministry, reported at a USSR MVD briefing today that despite the fact that the overall number of crimes exposed over the 8 months of 1989 increased by 13 percent, the department is still not coping with its tasks.

In order to rectify the situation which has arisen in this sphere, the representative of the USSR MVD noted, the ministry has elaborated and is carrying out a set of measures envisaging, in the first place, the solution of questions connected with lessening the load on investigators, on which the exposing of crimes depends to a considerable extent. To this end, in particular, it is envisaged to increase the apparatus by 5,000 investigators.

Specific measures are also envisaged which are aimed at strengthening the material and technical equipment of the investigation apparatus, at improving its housing and living conditions, at increasing professional standard of cadres, and measures aimed toward material encouragement. The interests or the struggle against organized crime also call for specialization by the investigators, the USSR MVD spokesman stressed. Training has been organized of investigators assigned to investigate cases connected with organized crime.

Although it is still early to speak about the effectiveness of the measures which are being adopted, certain hopeful results are already beginning to appear, Yuriy Kukushkin considers. Thus, during the first 6 months of 1989, the MVD investigators revealed 22,000 crimes from previous years, which is 45 percent more than in the same period of 1988. Around 105,000 thieves, more than 30,000 robbers, 3,800 profiteers, and 8,000 plunderers of socialist ownership have been prosecuted.

Leningrad Party, Trade Union Leaders Meet

90UN0083A Moscow TRUD in Russian
14 Oct 89 p 2

[Article by TRUD correspondent D. Struzhentsov, Leningrad: "Conversation on Equal Grounds"]

[Text]The workday began in an unusual way at the Leningrad Oblast Council of Trade Unions the day before yesterday. Officials of the oblast trade union council and trade union activists of the city gathered in the White Hall of the Palace of Labor in a meeting with members of the bureau and secretaries of the Leningrad Oblast committee of the CPSU. B.V. Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom [oblast party committee] spoke to the assembly. He talked about the need for frank and honest talk on such vital problems as contemporary trade union life, the implementation of functions for the protection of the interests of the workers, the attitude toward informal organizations and the cooperative movement, and the development of a system of mutual relations in connection with the speedy growth of a number of joint enterprises in Leningrad...

This is the first case ever in the memory of the oldest veterans of the trade union movement in Leningrad where leaders of the oblast party committee were guests of trade union activists. Perhaps this very unusual situation at first also prompted some of the speakers to go into the usual self- appraisals. However, the discussion soon took on a business-like and principled character.

The talk was mostly about perestroyka in the trade unions themselves and about the development of democracy. This was not talked about in general terms, but specific proposals were made that were mature and soundly reasoned, and which apparently will be submitted soon for consideration by the plenum of the council of trade unions. There was talk, in particular, about the fact that a number of committees of industrial trade unions have become unnecessary administrative superstructures that were only a drag on the work of primary trade union organizations. A reexamination is also needed of the style of work of the oblast trade union council in favor of a total rejection of management by order and decree and a shift to the coordination of activity of branch obkoms, taking regional features into account.

The speakers expressed their attitude toward the cooperative movement. The Leningrad trade unions, however, like the trade unions of the country as a whole, are not at all against cooperatives, but they categorically demand that Soviet organs reign in the growth of prices for articles of cooperatives and decisively put an end to the profiteering that has been legalized through cooperatives, and which has literally swept the city. Critical remarks were addressed to the Lengorispolkom [Leningrad city soviet executive committee] on questions of the allocation of housing, especially that erected by the work collectives themselves using their own resources. V.Ya. Khodirev, Lengorispolkom chairman, who spoke at the meeting, assured the trade union activists that henceforth the allocation of housing erected by this method will be conducted by the enterprises and establishments themselves.

It was also stated that the Leningrad trade unions intend to come out in the coming campaign for elections to local soviets with an independent political force to nominate its own candidates. Also, regrets were expressed about the fact that there are few representatives of trade union committees on city and oblast party committees, and that they are not represented in the buro of the CPSU obkom at all.

The meeting lasted more than 3 hours. Summing up its results, B.V. Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom, speaking on behalf of the members of the bureau, expressed satisfaction with the open and business-like discussion.

Leningrad Trade Unions Challenge Tax Measure

PM0210103789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Second Edition p3

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov report: "Defending the Working People's Interests"]

[Text] Leningrad, 22 Sep—More than 3 million working people are united by primary trade union organizations in Leningrad and Leningrad oblast. Reflecting the working people's mood, the participants in a meeting of the trade union aktiv expressed deep concern with the tense situation taking shape in the collectives. In the opinion of the activists, it has been made worse by the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution adopted 3 August 1989 "On Taxing the Wages Fund of State Enterprises (Associations)." The progressive tax scale set in place by the resolution essentially freezes wages in the state sector of the economy, means a loss of material incentives for increased labor efficiency and increased production output, and in no way compensates for the rate of inflation and spiraling prices in the consumer market.

We believe that these decisions represent a serious blow to the working people's prosperity and the development of state industrial production, a resolution adopted at the meeting says, and it demands that the USSR Supreme Soviet rescind the above resolution or take immediate measures to stabilize the prices of basic foodstuffs and industrial goods, and also of services provided by state and cooperative enterprises.

The same document proposes that the Leningrad city soviet and oblast soviet of people's deputies take action, beginning 1 October, to suspend the activity of all cooperatives offering the population goods and services at prices exceeding the state prices and establish maximum prices for fruit, vegetables, and potatoes in 1990 and subsequent years.

The trade unions sent the text of the resolution to the USSR Supreme Soviet and local soviet executive committees, meanwhile reserving the right to take further measures to protect the working people's interests.

Resolution Adopted

PM1510192589 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 89 p 3

[Report by A. Gervash, correspondent of the Oblast Trade Union Council Press Center: "Leningrad Trade Unions' Stance"]

[Text] A meeting of the city and oblast trade union aktiv was held at the Palace of Labor at which the following resolution was adopted after a stormy debate:

"We, chairmen of Leningrad city and oblast trade union sector committees and chairmen of Leningrad enterprise and organization trade union committees, representing more than 3 million workers, are deeply concerned at the situation which has arisen in connection with the adoption of the resolution 'On the Taxation of State Enterprise (Association) Labor Remuneration Funds' by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The progressive taxation scale which has been adopted effectively freezes the wages of workers in the state sector and removes material incentives for enhancing labor efficiency and increasing output. The labor remuneration fund growth rate which is exempt from taxation lags considerably behind the rate of inflation and the spiraling prices on the consumer market.

"In our opinion decisions of this kind seriously detract from working people's prosperity and curb the development of state industrial production.

"The buildup of serious distortions in the cooperative movement and the extensive evidence in this movement of moneygrubbing, speculation, and disregard for citizens' interests create further social tensions.

"In this connection we urge the USSR Supreme Soviet to repeal its resolution of 3 August 1989 or to adopt measures to freeze without delay the prices of basic foodstuffs and industrial goods which are of decisive importance for the consumer budget and to introduce stricter state controls on prices for goods and services supplied by state and cooperative enterprises and organizations.

"We also propose to the Leningrad city and oblast soviets of people's deputies that they adopt the following decisions:

"As from 1 October to suspend the operations of all cooperatives selling goods and services at prices above state prices;

"To establish ceilings on prices for fruit, vegetables, and potatoes sold through both state and cooperative outlets for 1990 and subsequent years;

"and to publish on a regular basis the prices of basic groups of consumer goods.

"Depending on the measures adopted, Leningrad city and oblast trade unions reserve the right to elaborate further measures to protect the working people's legitimate interests."

The text of the resolution has been sent to the USSR Supreme Soviet and Leningrad city and oblast soviet executive committees, and has also been handed to USSR people's deputies from the trade unions A. Baranov and V.A. Borovkov.

Medvedev Attends Lermontov Anniversary Soiree

PM1810154489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To Russia's Great Son"]

[Excerpt] Time has no power over Lermontov. It is 175 years since his birth, but even today everything the poet created lives on and moves our contemporaries' minds and hearts. The thirst for storms, the thirst for action, the desire for change—this is Mikhail Yuryevich Lermontov to the full, with his rebellious spirit. Surely that is why we, who come decades after him, regard Lermontov's poetry as our own, that poetry that is particularly fine because it contains a prophesy of a brighter world.

A celebration soiree held in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Unions in Moscow on 17 October was devoted to this remarkable date in the history of the culture of our country and the world.

The soiree was attended by Comrades V.A. Medvedev and Yu.A. Manayenkov, prominent cultural personalities, and representatives of the public. [passage omitted]

People's Committee Looks at Medicine Shortage

LD1810210289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Editorial report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1400 GMT on 18 October carries a 3-minute report by correspondent Yuriy Korotkov on the USSR Committee on People's Control.

Korotkov notes that for the first time the USSR Committee of People's Control jointly carried out monitoring with members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for People's Health Care.

They monitored supply of medicine to the population of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic's non-Chernozem Zone. Korotkov says the problem must be resolved as soon as possible since "recently, it has been acquiring not only a social, but also a political slant." He continues, noting that in a number of regions the tension in the supply of medicines is being exacerbated; the non-Chernozem Zone has turned out to be the worst in this respect.

He interviews Igor Ivanovich Lavrov, a departmental chief of the USSR Committee of People's Control. Lavrov says that vital preparations of all 18 basic pharmaceutical groups, including those manufactured in adequate volume are in permanent short supply in many rayons of the non-Chernozem zone. "A shortage of 50 to 160 medicines is being created. Moreover, the nature of that shortage is artificial and, I would say, man-made," Lavrov notes. He says it depends to a considerable extent on the level of leadership on the part of the republic's Ministry of Health. Lavrov continues that over 3 years there has been a 2 and ½ times decrease in the resources to the region for medicines and that thousands of patients have been waiting for over a year for them. The committee has come to the conclusion that in many places pharmacists' service has been allowed to slide. "A low level of medicinal aid has evolved in many hospitals and losses and theft, shortages and wastage are growing, including of imported preparations in acute short supply," Lavrov continues. He stresses that all this is exacerbating the social tension in the region.

In reply to the question as to what the cases are, Lavrov says he believes one cause is the lack of social protection in the sphere of medical aid for rural residents. He says that half the medicines are produced per head of rural population, compared to those produced for the urban population. He notes that the Soviet pharmaceutical industry is fulfilling the population's demands for medicines by 50 percent, at best.

He goes on to say that the decision has been made to specially examine the question of the responsibility of officials for the serious shortcomings in providing the population of the non-Chernozem Zone with medicines at the next sitting of the USSR People's Control Committee. He says that it has also been decided to establish strict monitoring for eliminating the shortcomings as soon as possible.

Lavrov says the problem of the shortage of medicines can be met in many other regions of the country and that this work is only the first stage in monitoring medicines' supply and that it will be dealt with further.

Welfare Benefits for Former Child Prisoners

LD1810230889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1429 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 Oct (TASS)—The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted the decision "on providing benefits to former juvenile prisoners of fascist concentration camps." This new decision of the state gives former child-prisoners the right to enjoy certain material benefits. They include a 50 percent reduction of travel fare once a year, a 20 percent supplement to the old age pension for continuous work record at one enterprise, a 50 percent reduction of the price of medicines bought on doctor's prescription, and a number of other measures.

In the Soviet Union, there are now no more than 3,000 people who spent part of their childhood behind the barbed wire of Nazi concentration camps. In 1988 they formed the union of former juvenile prisoners of fascist concentration camps, at the Soviet Lenin Children's Fund. At the same time the Children's Fund submitted a proposal to the government to grant former juvenile prisoners benefits on a par with participants in the Great Patriotic War. In 1989-90, the Soviet Lenin Children's Fund undertakes to finance the fulfillment of the provisions of the Council of Ministers' document.

Data, Commentary on Incidence of Suicide

90US0047A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 30 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by K. Sergienko: "At the Fateful Limit"]

[Text] A recent summary of the USSR Governmental Committee on Statistics alarmingly witnesses that the suicide rate in our country is rather high. During the last

3 years 19 persons out of every 100,000 voluntarily took their lives. An analysis of 1989 statistics suggests that this year the figure will increase to twenty-two.

To compare: In England this level is at 9; in the United States, 12; in the FRG and France, like ours, slightly over 20. And in various regions of our country the data are not the same. The smallest figures were in Tadzhikistan and in the Transcaucasian republics—2 to 3. The highest were in the RSFSR and the Baltic republics—23 to 26. One more fact: Men are more inclined to this tragic act; there are three times as many men among suicides. And if they are taken at their peak—ages 25 to 39—then there are six times as many suicides among men as among women.

G. Morozov, academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and director of the All-Union Scientific-Investigative V.P. Serbskiy Institute of General and Judicial Psychiatry comments on the summary of the USSR Governmental Committee on Statistics:

One must say that such statistics were not publicized for many decades. In our country they were published only before the 1930's. Then there were fewer than 10 suicides for every 100,000 inhabitants. What is the reason for the growth of such incidents? Why do people decide on such a tragic step? There is no single answer. Such people can be divided into two groups: Either these are people with psychic disorders, or those who by force of some circumstances lost faith in life. In the first case, we medical people know how to act. There is a whole arsenal of means with which we can help influence the sick. It is more complicated with the second category. Here one cannot manage with medicine alone; here we need joint efforts with sociologists, psychologists, and representatives of other social disciplines who could together analyze the phenomena of life which influence the psychic condition of man. Such work is being done.

Great changes are now taking place in our society. But together with positive moves, there is also a growth of negative phenomena. Here is just one fact: During the last 5 years the number of minors registered as users of narcotics or mind-altering substances increased several times. Alcoholism is not yielding its position, either. Here you have a platform for the emergence of psychic deviations.

One other fact: Studies conducted in various countries show that among those who attempted suicide are many lonely, maladjusted people. Statistics show that the largest percentage of suicides are people of advanced years. And how many lonely old men do we have! And how many invalids living on a miserable pension! And how many people live on the edge of poverty!

Naturally, one cannot directly correlate directly the level of life with the numbers of suicides. But economic failures cannot BUT reflect on the physical and psychic health of the population.

Economic

Rail Situation Throughout Country Described

14,000 Cars Idled

PM1310145189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[B. Pipiya report: "Situation Getting Back to Normal"]

[Text] What is the situation in the country concerning the transportation of goods by rail? Your PRAVDA correspondent put this question yesterday to N. Konarev, USSR minister of railways. This is what he said:

"As at 12 October across all sectors of the national economy 13,902 cars stood idle waiting to be unloaded. In order to illustrate this figure, I shall cite the following example: One carload of sugar is a month's norm for a city with a population of 20,000. We are grateful to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions which sent an open letter to workers in trade, rail and road transportation, and other sectors of the national economy, which focuses attention on this problem. The consignments have arrived and consumers are waiting for them, and it is quite intolerable that they are standing there and are not being unloaded. The country is losing millions.

"After the adoption of certain measures by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the republic's Council of Ministers, the situation concerning the delivery of consignments to Armenia has changed for the better. Last night trains carrying all kinds of goods, including trains with petroleum products and provisions, traveled unimpeded from Azerbaijan to Armenia and Georgia.

"The need to receive in good time and without any holdups the consignments that are arriving was strictly pointed out to V. Blazhiyevskiy, leader of the Transcaucasian Railroad, and A. Kandelyan, chief of the Yerevan division. We hope that in the future the situation will remain stable and get back to normal."

'Warehouses on Wheels'

PM1310100989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent A. Molokov report: "Warehouses on Wheels"]

[Text] Leningrad—Panic has reigned at the October Railroad Administration for many days now. The Leningrad Railroad system has been virtually paralyzed. All stations within a radius of dozens of kilometers, spur tracks, goods yards, and marshalling yards are chockablock with railcars awaiting unloading.

It all started in September when, at the request of Leningrad's leaders, Belorussia accelerated deliveries of

potatoes to the "Glavlenplodovoshchprom." The vegetable depots were totally unprepared for this level of shipments: They had neither the people or the equipment to handle them. Realizing that they could not cope with the unloading, the workers at the depots lost heart altogether, while the trains kept on coming one after another.

It is only since 3 October that cars have started being unloaded faster than new cars are arriving. But this only applies to cars carrying fruit and potatoes. Bulk oil shipments, refrigerated trains, container trains, and motor vehicle transporters still wait to be unloaded. Thousands of tonnes of freight has built up at enterprises and ports because there are no spare cars to carry it.

The crime situation has worsened. The unloaded trains come to a halt in densely populated areas. It is virtually impossible to guard them: There are not enough people available. There are now more of the so-called "abandoned" trains than ever, and they present a great temptation. Transport militia staffers guarding the Leningrad-Sortirovochnyy-Moskovskiy Station recently stated that they refuse to work: "So many trains have built up that it's physically impossible to guard them." According to figures from the Northwestern Administration of Transportation Internal Affairs' Criminal Investigation Department the number of crimes involving thefts of freight doubled in September.

In this truly critical situation it is the freight recipients—above all, wholesale depots and enterprises in the agro-industrial complex—that feel most at ease. Their freight cars have turned, as it were, into mobile warehouses. The most indicative example in this respect is probably provided by the "Rosmyasomoltorg" Office. More than 180 meat cars are currently standing idle in Leningrad. The railroad is losing millions. But the customers are not reacting: After all, the freight is not going bad—and if it does it will be the railroad's responsibility.

However, despite its exceptional nature, the prevailing situation is a natural and even, to a certain extent, objective result. The unexpectedly active shipments of agricultural produce have visibly exposed Leningrad's old and longstanding ailment—the lack of the refrigerated facilities and warehousing needed to provide for normal life in the city. In the past 30 years the city's population has almost doubled, while its storage capacity has fallen, according to some calculations, by two-thirds.

There is no incentive for the trade department's wholesale depots to develop their transport and warehousing facilities: The less responsibility they have, the more profit they will make. But why have those whose job it is to supply the whole city rather than just certain bases with the necessary products and goods tolerated this situation for decades? After all, feeding Leningrad straight from the railroad, so to speak, is an economically inefficient as well as unreliable undertaking. Nonetheless, for years senior officials at the highest city conferences have merely noted the lack of warehouses and refrigerated facilities and taken umbrage at the actions of ministries which have cut the financing and development of the transport and warehousing infrastructure.

The Leningrad railcar gridlock has long been a common occurrence. It is probably a typical feature of "Glavlenplodovoshchprom" not to draw conclusions and to be unprepared for the umpteenth time when the next delivery period begins. It had always managed to get off the hook through last-minute rushes, mobilizations, and emergency measures. But the problem of the "warehouses on wheels" cannot by solved by last-minute rushes.

Containers of cosmetics have been standing outside the "Rosgalantereya" perfumery base for 2-3 months. Carloads of cocoa beans destined for this confectionery industry association have been standing idle for months. Carloads of dried milk are standing idle at the Leningrad Food Combine.... This, incidentally, is one of the facts bringing about the reemergence of commodity shortages—the goods are available but there is nobody to unload them. For instance, this is what has happened with imported washing powder. Carloads of the powder in kilo packs arrived in September. The general customer was "Rosgalantereya." On the very first day of unloading, six carloads were dispatched from the station straight to the stores. People were able to use their coupons. But on the next day there was not even any request for the cars to be unloaded: There was nowhere to unload them and nowhere to store the goods in the stores. So 18 cars stood for almost 4 weeks at stations near to the base.

The collective group interests of some people are severely affecting the economic condition of others and the prosperity of all. Somebody once called the railroads the transport arteries of our country. The clots in those arteries threaten to be fatal: Nothing can be brought into Leningrad or taken out. However much we may pretend that the "warehouses on wheels" do not exist, the thousands of cars on spur tracks are not a fantasy but a real feature of the city's life.

Economy 'Paralyzed'

904H0010A Moscow GUDOK in Russian 6 Oct 89 p 1

[Interview with V.I. Kolesnikov, chairman of the Railway Transport Subcommittee of the USSR Supreme Soviet, professor and head of department at the Rostov Institute of Railway Transport Engineers, by Ye. Malyuta, GUDOK correspondent: "Put an End to Arbitrariness"; date, place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Malyuta] Vladimir Ivanovich, throughout the history of railway transport in our country we have perhaps not seen such a critical situation as that which we see today. In a time of peace, when it would seem we must rejoice at the democratic processes which have taken shape and at the awakening of social self-consciousness, we are seeing how crisis phenomena are

encompassing one branch after another of the national economy. Now it is railway transport's turn. In essence, railroad operation in the south of the country has become paralyzed. Judging from what the student collective and instructors at your institute have to say, they would like to rivet the attention of railroad employees on the threat of creeping anarchy.

[Kolesnikov] I have been working many years now at the Rostov Institute. Its student body is multi-national. Just yesterday on the same bench, living in a single room, sat an Armenian and an Azeri, a Georgian and a Russian. They take exams together, rejoice together at their academic successes. Then suddenly a precipice opens wide in their mutual understanding. Friends become almost enemies. We simply cannot understand at our institute how people could so quickly and easily replace universal human values and friendship with national irreconcilability and arrogance. As you know, our institute has for many years now been training specialists for the North-Caucasus, Azerbaijan, and Trans-Caucasus railways. Many of them have left behind good memories of themselves in the halls of the institute. They have proven themselves in their work, in critical management sectors of the railway transport system.

Now the news is alarming. In August and September, as a result of strikes in Tiraspol and Benderakh, railway transport between the Moldavian and Odessa lines was interrupted for 17 days. As a result, 60,000 cars carrying freight important to the national economy failed to arrive at their destination. The situation in the Trans-Caucasus is worse still. There is practically no shipment of freight from the Azerbaijan rail lines to Armenia. Cars carrying food and fuel are being decoupled. This is not only immoral, but criminal with respect to a people upon whom a world of tragedy recently came crashing down. Perhaps the time has come to introduce a state of emergency?

All the Soviet people are alarmed, of course—how long will the arbitrariness continue? Will someone bear responsibility for it? Disorganization of the transportation system is paralyzing the economic life of the country. It already accounts for hundreds of millions of rubles in losses.

[Malyuta] The situation is extreme—and intolerable more so. Extraordinary measures must be taken....

[Kolesnikov] As you know, the USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted an appropriate resolution, which was published in GUDOK. It provides, in part, measures for protecting the transportation system from violence and for normalizing the work of railwaymen in Azerbaijan and Armenia. But I would like to say something else. The USSR Supreme Soviet should consider the experience of other countries and entrust special powers to the chief of state to terminate violent disturbances, including those which take place in the transportation system. Attempts made against the interests of the state must be repulsed immediately. I consider justified such measures as setting warning deadlines, using compulsory sanctions, etc. In other words, measures which are widely used (since it has so struck our fancy to cite Western democracy) in the United States, for example, where, as you know, railwaymen are obliged to give 90 days notice before going on strike. Of course, direct borrowing of measures will not solve all our problems.

We need legislation which would protect the railway transport system from this time forward from any kind of encroachment. One republic or another should bear financial responsibility for direct or indirect damage to transportation. In addition to economic sanctions, the laws should contain juridical ones with respect to persons who organize and participate in crimes or terrorist acts against the transportation system.

I believe the USSR Supreme Soviet has acted quite properly in directing the Council of Ministers, its committees and commissions to draw up draft laws on emergency measures and on railway transportation.

At the same time, I am far from believing that administrative measures will be sufficient to get us out of this crisis situation—just as laws are not capable of protecting our transport from earthquakes. What is required is a change in how the authority on the whole relates to it. We must eliminate the social and economic causes.

[Malyuta] I recall you wanted to say something about this at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

[Kolesnikov] Yes, but speaking time was limited at the congress. At that time, railwaymen-deputies appealed to the head of the government requesting assistance in moving transport out of its standstill. Residential construction, supply of goods and services, medical aid, water supply, cultural aspects—this is all being neglected to the extreme. We cannot go on like this—urgent action must be taken.

[Malyuta] By virtue of its nature and tradition, the transportation system has always excelled in order and discipline. How has it gotten drawn into such a crisis situation?

[Kolesnikov] The roots of the labor, social, interethnic, and other conflicts—which we ourselves are witnessing and taking part in—go far back into the depths, into the structure of economics and government, into the interethnic relations which have taken decades to evolve. We must investigate all of this and find a true way out, using the spiritual values and experience we have accumulated over the centuries. I believe in the wisdom of our multi-national people.

[Malyuta] Beginning next year a number of republics are shifting to economic independence and economic accountability. Do we want this or not? Will a question arise as to the fate of those sections of the railroad network which are located in their territory?

Does it not seem to you that decentralization of mutual economic relationships and a renovation of governmental structure in the transportation sphere are also unavoidable? Might not the interests of railwaymen in one republic be trampled on endlessly just because some kinds of conflict or disturbance have arisen in another?

[Kolesnikov] I think republic-level economic accountability will force a shift to economic decentralization in the transportation sphere and to adoption of a contractual basis for a long period of time. Such a system in one republic or another will make delays in freight transport intolerable, blockades—all the more so. Otherwise it will have to fork money over for damage inflicted on its partner.

I also do not rule out the establishment of joint-stock companies for operating spur lines which would spoke out from the main lines. We already have examples of this. By the way, sale of such strips to labor collectives, cooperatives, and joint-stock companies would enable us to improve the financial situation of a number of lines.

Of course, with the new system of economic interrelationships in the transportation system, government requisition must be preserved. This is a sacred cargo, the property of all the people, and no railroad or republic has the right to refuse its transport. Of course, they should know what is profitable or unprofitable for them to haul. If unprofitable, then the republic or rail line should demand a subsidy from the central authority.

[Malyuta] Has it come to be that we cannot say no to centralized management in the transportation sphere?

[Kolesnikov] Yes, that would be simply inconceivable. Centralization must be a part of transportation policy strategy from here on out (for example, the introduction in the future of high-speed rail lines spread through the territory of several republics), must be a part of engineering and fuel considerations, and of the management structure.

By the way, they are taking down individual-state road signs in Western Europe and making them international. They are creating a unified system of transportation, realizing that fragmentation here would place a serious obstacle in the path of further economic development of their countries. Each West European government is rising above narrow national interests and finding it easy to convince its parliamentarians that integration of road networks is beneficial to the nation. Sometimes our expert railwaymen think differently. Several republics even exhibit a striving for isolation. This approach is a mistake and shows lack of foresight.

Experience suggests that it is time to shift away from today's largely static, conservative management of the road networks to a flexible system on a rigidly regulated and authorized basis. Our ministry has something to think about. The Commission on Matters of Transport, Communications, and Data Processing of the USSR Supreme Soviet is putting this in its scheme of future operations.

[Malyuta] Vladimir Ivanovich, we see a very delicate issue today in the matter of use of the Russian language in the transportation system as the sole means of working communications. Some people do not like this. But it is apparent that if railroad employees start using many different languages, not only will they cease to understand one another—it will become impossible to run the trains. Consider the Baltic region, for example, where you have three local languages which are dissimilar....

[Kolesnikov] It seems absurd at first glance to require the sole use of one's native language in the transportation system. But we have a problem here.

What is happening here? Historically, it has evolved that Russian became the common means of communicating. But little, or almost nothing, was done to promote its mastery in the training of our railway cadre. Now, seeing that the native languages of the republics are acknowledged as the state languages, I do not rule out that attention to Russian will decrease. This will exacerbate the problem of providing professional training to those who work in transportation.

We have seen before how complicated it is to conduct student training in the Rostov Institute of Railway Transport Engineers—of Armenians, Azeris, Georgians. In our country, by the way, you will not find a single institute, technical college, or school where the student body is not multi-national. At one time a Russian language department was opened up in the Rostov Institute to enhance the language and speech abilities of non-Russian students. Nothing seditious was ever found in this. On the contrary, mastery of Russian allowed them access to specialized literature, to deeper knowledge. It allowed them to widen their circle of Russian acquaintances and become familiar with Russian culture. But something else of importance could be seen at the same time—the reverse process.

We have ethnic functions at our institute where Russian students show great interest in getting acquainted with the traditions, culture, and way of life of the peoples of the Caucasus. There is a mutual spiritual enrichment. However, this is by no means the practice in all railroad training institutions.

Interethnic excesses force us to actively develop our international work. Each member of our student family should feel that he has equal rights, that he is not being oppressed in one way or another. But this consolidation is not possible without a good knowledge of Russian language. Therefore I have a suggestion—open a Russian language department on an elective basis in all institutions of higher education. Then it will be easier for students to study specialized subjects, easier for them to make useful contacts in their future work in transportation. I would not want someone to misinterpret my

words and accuse me of being a Russophile. Everyday practice in foreign countries shows that English is the international working language of civil aviation and maritime operations. No communication problems arise in this regard. As a result, there are fewer accidents and conflicts at the local level, fewer problems in hauling and delivering freight.

9-Month Performance 'Short'

904H0008A Moscow GUDOK in Russian
4 Oct 89 p 1

[Unsigned article based on materials of the statistical office of the Ministry of Railways: "The Results of Nine Months"]

[Text] The plan for dispatching freight for 9 months was short by 21.7 million tons, or by 7 percent. Out of 14 state-ordered shipments there was a shortfall in the delivery of bituminous coal, oil, and oil products, iron oar, fluxes, fertilizers, and timber loads.

At the same time for this period, about 16 million tons of building material freight and 2.2 million tons of potatoes, vegetables, and fruit were shipped in addition to the plan, and 55,500 cars with food commodities were delivered.

The most unfavorable situation occurred in transport in the third quarter when the underfulfillment was more than 36 million tons, including 15.3 million tons of freight for state orders. Above-plan shipments were provided in only four freight categories—coke, paper, grain and reground products, and mixed feed.

Since the beginning of the year, the October, Baltic, Moscow, Odessa, South Dnepropetrovsk, Belorussian, and the Baykal-Amur railroads coped with the plan of shipments, and in the last quarter it was only the last three and also the Lvov railroad.

At the same time, the biggest backlog occurred on the Kemerovo—3.2 million tons, Tselina—2.8, Azerbaijan—2.0, Donetsk—3.4, and on the Moldavian and Transcaucasian railroads, by 0.9 million tons each. This was occasioned on a number of railroads by the strained situation in the resolution of labor disputes and interethnic conflicts.

The task on state order traffic and passenger traffic was not fulfilled, and the level of use of rolling stock was lower, especially in the third quarter.

All of this affected the economic situation of the branch. The productivity of labor of workers engaged in shipments was increased since the beginning of the year by 0.2 percent. However, in the third quarter its level fell in comparison with last year by 1.6 percent. The cost of shipments for January-September, as against the plan, was raised by 2.7 percent. The profit plan for the branch on the whole was unfulfilled by R250 million.

Tax on Enterprise Wage Funds Detailed

904A0018A Moscow TRUD in Russian
5 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by A.V. Orlov, USSR Council of Ministers State Commission deputy chairman, and P.I. Subbotin, deputy chief of the Main Economics Administration of the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and Instrument Making: "Tax on Wages: What Variant Is More Beneficial for the Enterprise"]

[Text] *The decree on tax regulation of the wage fund of enterprises, as before, arouses heated discussions. The interview with A.V. Orlov, USSR Council of Ministers State Commission deputy chairman, published in TRUD ("How Will We Live Tomorrow?", 29 September) gave rise to new questions. We asked A.V. Orlov and P.I. Subbotin, deputy chief of the Main Economics Administration of the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and Instrument Making [Minelektrotekhpribor], who analyzed the application of tax regulation using specific examples, to respond to these questions.*

[A. Orlov] In the last interview, we examined only one of the possible variants of calculating the tax on an increase in the wage fund. This example was sketchy and fairly conditional in nature. You will recall, the base wage fund was R1 million. During the quarter it increased by R60,000, or 6 percent. We assumed that the enterprise had no other sources for payment of the tax other than these R60,000. This calculation is sort of the basis for the analysis. If all R60,000 are paid out, one should wonder where to get the funds to pay the tax in the sum of R40,000. If there are no R40,000, it would be more rational to use only part of the increase for the payments instead of all of it.

Let us assume that only R45,000 of the total increase are paid out. Of these R45,000, 30,000 (a 3 percent increase), as we know, are not taxed, and the remaining 15,000 fall between 3 and 5 percent, where the tax is "ruble for ruble." That is, R15,000 have to be paid for these 15,000.

The result is this: R45,000 out of the 60,000 increase go to the collective; 15,000 go to payment of tax.

[P. Subbotin] I would like to make a significant addition here. In practice, enterprises have (and in recent years they have increased) unexpended wage fund surpluses. Today they comprise an enormous sum throughout the country—about R30 billion. For our sector alone these unused monies exceed R250 millions. So, as a rule, there are funds for payment of the tax.

Let us now look at a situation using the example of a specific enterprise. At the Yuzhelektromash Production Association, the material incentive fund surplus as of 1 October was more than R1 million. This sum is quite sufficient to "redeem" the entire wage fund increase in the fourth quarter (this increase was estimated at 7 percent).

But what awaits the association next year? According to the plans compiled by the enterprise itself, the fund increase is anticipated to be about 8 percent. To achieve this wage level, it is necessary to ensure an increase in production of just over 20 percent. This, of course, is more the exception than the rule. So far, only 49 out of almost 500 enterprises of the sector reported an increase in production over 10 percent. All the more interesting to analyze.

So, on the whole, the association's wage fund for 1990 will be R33.8 million. In 1989, it is 31.3 million. As we can see, the difference is 2.5 million.

Of this sum about R500,000 are not taxable in connection with the increase in output of consumer goods and services. But if the enterprise revises its plan and the output of consumer goods increases even more, the nontaxable sum will also increase. The tax regulation system being introduced is aimed at precisely these kind of structural changes.

But let us get back to our example. There still remains a R2 million increase for the year. Of these, the first R940,000 (3 percent of the increase) are not taxable, and 1,060,000 are distributed in this way: 530,000 go to the collective; 530,000 go to the state budget. In this case, "Yuzhelektromash" will receive a surplus in the sum of R1,970,000 after paying the tax in full.

Of course, there can be another variant, in which the association uses the entire R2.5 million of increase for wages. But then it will have to pay tax in the amount of R1.5 million. Where does it get them? That is why the first variant, of course, is more preferable for the collective. Not to mention the fact that in the first case the tax will be R1.5 per 100, and in the second—three times as much.

There are a wide variety of variants. If, say, in the first quarter the entire sum is paid out, the tax sort of shifts to the next month, of course, decreasing the sum of the wage fund. However, an enterprise has the right to distribute the wage fund independently and thus take into account more accurately both the tax benefits and the different needs for funds in the various periods.

So it turns out that one must consider the variants, for if you take all the money right away, you miscalculate.

Gosbank Head Sees Need for Central Bank

904A0016A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Report on interview with V. Gerashchenko, chairman of the board of the USSR State Bank, by R. Lynev: "Bank Reform: Assets and Liabilities"; date, place, occasion not specified]

[Text] My first question to my interlocutor was the one with which I tried to start my interview with the then chairman of the board of the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] as long ago as the summer of 1987: Why are six specialized banks needed instead of one? However, at the time it did not go beyond this question because there was no intelligible answer.

The current chairman of the board of the USSR Gosbank believes that "there still is not any. The banking reform was based on considerations generated entirely from behind a desk and were not discussed with the employees of the banking system. Hence the negative consequences we are now facing: Specialization has been established only in the upper, managerial echelons of the banks—at the union, republic, and oblast levels. This entire managerial pyramid, somewhat inverted, has put its weight on the lower element which serves the clients alone.

As far as trends in the development of banking are concerned, some of them are not unambiguous. In countries with developed goods-and-market relations, fewer and fewer small, specialized banks remain; they yield to larger, universal banks. The trend toward universalization applies in our country as well: In conjunction with enterprises entering the world market, a number of local banks assume the functions of the Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity]. It is also more convenient for enterprises to deal with one bank.

The encyclopedia (to be sure, the old one) says that under capitalism banks are enterprises which accumulate spare funds and channel them into developing the economy with a view to securing profits.... It says further on that under socialism banks are management organs.

[Lynev] Is this not in keeping with Lenin's concept of the state bank with a chain of its branches in the field as a unified organ of economic management?

[Gerashchenko] Once again it is not that simple. Lenin's concept is right for managing an economy of the size it was then through the unified chain of the Gosbank. At present, given the development of the goods-and-money relations, it is necessary to have alternatives. There is a reason why commercial banks of various kinds are being created at present both within industries and in agricultural complexes, and various forms and methods of banking activities are being tested. Practice will select what is necessary and rational.

[Lynev] You mentioned industry-wide banks. Do you think that the desire of ministry functionaries to preserve through such banks their authority over the enterprises is a factor in this matter?

[Gerashchenko] If we were to be precise, these are not banks in the proper meaning of the word, but centers to which enterprises contribute some of their spare funds (let us make an effort and believe that it is done voluntarily). As I see it, the function of these funds is to help the very enterprises which are in a difficult financial situation rather than to help ministry functionaries keep their positions and authority over the enterprises. I believe that having played their role, these banks will still come to diversified operations on a greater scale.

[Lynev] A small remark on aid to weak enterprises. We are still hearing appeals to close such enterprises down without regret in keeping with the principles of market economy.

[Gerashchenko] Let me assure you that it is not all that simple to close down an enterprise in the environment of a market economy because the bank which does not want to lose loans invested in the enterprise will try to rescue it. Rescuing it means curing it.

[Lynev] Something like that occurred in the Leningrad Oblast Board of the Promstroybank [Industrial Construction Bank] where they initially wanted to declare the Leningrad "reduction gear" plant bankrupt—this is how high its debt was. However, the point was that the plant found itself in such a situation through no fault of its own. Its collapse would have been a blow to 2,000 (!) consumers of the "reduction gear" products. This is why, having appealed to the Minstankoprom [Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry] and directly to the collective of the plant, the employees of the bank not only showed to them how desperate the situation was, but also offered a program for getting rid of the debt. The program was carried out. The collective ensured a change in leadership and leased the plant. We might say that things are looking up for the "reduction gear" plant.

At this point, with my interlocutor's consent and hopefully for the benefit of the reader, we should deviate from the interview format and relay in somewhat more detail what has been happening at the Leningrad Board of the Promstroybank, which, incidentally, operates under economic accountability and performs new operations. What operations? First of all, factoring, or, in simple terms, repurchasing the debts of its clients. For example, you have shipped your product to the consumer, but temporarily there are no funds in your account. Having signed a contract with you, the bank gives you the sum needed at a certain rate of interest and at the same time undertakes to collect it from the customer. Or the other way around: You have received products, but you do not have money either. According to the contract, the bank will settle with your supplier. When you have money you repay the debt to the bank with interest once again. Where will the bank get the funds for such aid? From enterprises which have funds to spare, and also at a certain rate of interest. Certainly there is some risk involved in this, but calculation as well. This is what commerce is all about.

As a result, settlements between enterprises are accomplished faster; money circulates faster, and turns the wheels of our economy faster.

The bank has gone further: It purchases promissory notes—debt obligations of clients; it appears as a guarantor when one plant extends commercial credit to another. The bank helps enterprises with mastering shares, and all of it is done to the advantage of the partners and the bank itself.

The bank's network of commercial contacts has expanded. The need for hard-currency loans has appeared because many customers have begun to enter the world market. In this endeavor, the Promstroybank is also ready to assume this responsibility.

[Lynev] However, we began with the fact that the present reform of the banking system has not been particularly successful. What is to be done now?

[Gerashchenko] We are receiving many proposals from the field concerning this, and we study them. However, personally I have my doubts: Do we need to develop extensive banking regulations at present when the banking system is forming and being verified in practice? Could its development be constrained by the rigid framework of the law? If we are going to make our banking system a two-tier one, as is the case throughout the world, we need first of all a law on the main bank: the USSR State Bank (central bank) as the only one which has the right to perform currency and credit emission. If necessary this law may be supplemented by individual provisions. We are now working on the draft law, and we will soon submit it to the relevant committees.

[Lynev] In discussing the place and role of Gosbank in the economy, many people raise the issue of not only enterprises having been clearly given too much credit in their time, but also the state which has covered the budget deficit at the expense of credit resources. That is, the state has been in debt to the bank. In light of this, it is proposed that Gosbank be made independent of Minfin [Ministry of Finance] and the government and be placed directly under the Supreme Soviet of the country.

[Gerashchenko] Certainly it is no good when the central bank provides credit whenever the government requests it, and at times for the needs of the moment. Essentially this is how the line between nonrepayable and repayable financing is erased. Still I would have to say to those who are inclined to excessively dramatize the very fact of indebtedness of the state that in a number of countries with developed economies this is a normal practice. There are priority sectors which exist on subsidies. All of this requires constant budgetary and credit support. It is provided by loans the state receives from the populace, enterprises, and banks.

Concerning the independence of Gosbank: Even if we were not to report to the Council of Ministers any longer we would have to coordinate the operations of the bank and reconcile our actions with the government in the interest of our society. It cannot be that one of us will be doing one thing, and another will be doing something else. The only issue is what methods we use and which priorities are established for a given period. In this reference, I would like to say that we have now come to an understanding with the Minfin on the relations between the budget and the bank and on their mutual relations with the national economy.

In general, I would like to explain to those who are calling on banks to take a place "at the head of perestroyka": Even if the bank right now decided absolutely independently the endeavors for which it considers it necessary to provide credit and which not, it would still have to provide loans for a number of manufacturing facilities with a low rate of profitability which turn out products necessary for the population. The bank cannot on its own, separately from the rest of the economic system, resolve the issues of deficit, monopolies, and prices in which many notions are so distorted that it is simply premature to speak about genuine economic accountability. In this matter, we need comprehensive treatment designed for many years.

[Lynev] You devoted your program statement at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which confirmed you in this position mainly to the issues of currency circulation. I believe it would be worthwhile to explain your main position. In particular, you could have been understood not quite to be an advocate of the currency (bill) emission, but not to be inclined to exaggerate its role in inflation.

[Gerashchenko] Inflation—the excess of funds in circulation—is the consequence of excessive credit emission, excessive injection of credits into heavy industry, into a great many unfinished construction projects, as well as into paying for above-norm stocks rather than the emission of bills (issuance of paper currency).

Among the main causes of inflation, of excessive currency emission, I would stress the volumes and rates of growth of group A being considerably greater for many years than those of group B production and the absence of a strict economic link between the growth of profits of enterprises and the final results secured even under the new economic system. The latter is shown by, among others, these statistics: In all of 1988 the remuneration fund in the entire national economy increased by 6 percent, whereas in the first half of this year growth amounted to 9.5 percent. Previously such increases were registered over an entire 5-year plan.

In discussing the emission of currency, the excessive credit emission which we have had for a number of years is frequently forgotten. These two streams of funds (cash and noncash) are organically and inseparably linked. The issuance of excessive credit funds is by no means a lesser "evil" compared to the excessive emission of cash.

For a long period of time, we actually did not acknowledge or comply with economic limits on credit emission. Essentially, we "knuckled under" to extensive development and the needs of the national economy. We lived beyond our means by creating unjustified profits and accumulation.

[Lynev] You said "unjustified profits." Whose profits were they for the most part—those of citizens or those of enterprises?

[Gerashchenko] Both, although, as I see it, they make more of a fetish of the former. They raise the alarm on the account of supposedly excessive savings by the populace in the banks, over R300 billion. However, everything is relative. Compared to the developed countries, we are almost the last as far as the share of personal savings in the mass of the national product is concerned. Also, the structure of savings in our country is such that only one-fifth of the depositors have funds sufficient for buying, say, a car or a house. The savings of the rest are much more modest.

We should also note that in general ours are "working" deposits. Over the last 20 years, about one-third of the deposits has been renewed annually. It is natural that when the income of the populace grows, the balance of savings also increases. Here is another, more troubling aspect: The duration of already accumulated savings waiting for goods is becoming increasingly longer. This is to say nothing about the fact that the duration of accumulating similar amounts of money has become longer compared to the not-so-remote past. Interest paid on the deposits of the populace is not keeping up with the rate of inflation and increases in the cost of living. It is absolutely clear that the rate of interest paid on deposits in savings banks should be raised.

I take a different view of the money which, as they say, is in the mattresses, or rather in the wallets because in the environment of a merchandise shortage one must have his money handy in order to buy what becomes available in the store today; tomorrow it may be too late.

It is also worthwhile to refer to "the flight from currency" which individual economists have recently started talking about frequently but unjustifiably. What we have now is "chasing merchandise" rather than "fleeing from currency." How can we talk about the desire to get rid of currency if our quite high current plans for attracting the money of the populace as deposits are exceeded every quarter by R1 to 2 billion?

[Lynev] Essentially you are talking about how poor we are. Under these conditions, wage increases have been restricted as was done by the resolution of the Supreme Soviet! Do you know what kind of reaction this has caused at enterprises?

[Gerashchenko] Negative, I think. However, apart from everything else, this also testifies to the lack of general economic culture, which goes hand in hand with group egoism, and to monopoly price increases, especially in contract prices, which create a surplus of funds in the market. How are they to be drawn into circulation? Until recently this was expected to be accomplished primarily through augmenting the output of consumer goods. Of course, this is correct, but it is not enough. The draft plan and budget for the coming year have for the first time envisaged other important steps in this direction as well. This is the issuance of bonds by the state which will be offered for sale to the enterprises, cooperatives, and the populace.

[Lynev] Will the populace buy them being mindful of the fact that the state has not yet entirely settled its obligations by virtue of the previous loans of the 1950's?

[Gerashchenko] First of all, the state intends to settle on these older loans. Second, the new loans are going to be voluntary unlike the old, mandatory ones. Third, a high rate of interest will be paid on them. A money market will emerge; circulation in general will become livelier. The funds in the accounts of enterprises and citizens will start working vigorously, as well as the "office" itself. By now, this word has been forgotten as it applies to banks. After all, it is derived from the Italian word "conto"—"account."

[Lynev] In talking about equities, you have forgotten to mention the shares of enterprises which the workers purchase.

[Gerashchenko] Frankly my attitude toward shares is ambivalent. On the one hand, it is good that people's interest in the success of their enterprise is increased due to them. On the other hand, the role of shares purchased by employees in the economy is quite small. But look at the generous rate of dividends which is frequently guaranteed: 15 or 16 percent! In essence, these are not shares but a way to pay through dividends additional wages circumventing the restrictions in existence; that is, once again fill the market with empty money for which no goods are available. The volume of dividends paid in our country is thus far not tied strictly to the amount of profit generated as a result of endeavors financed from the funds secured by selling stock. In Western countries, such generous dividends are not paid nor are such guarantees given. Incidentally, wages account for the bulk of Americans' incomes. Of course, they are much higher than ours. However, does it not suggest on the whole that we need to improve the principles of remuneration for labor, its incentive function, rather than obscure wages by various bonuses.

On the other hand, I am convinced that we need to sell more apartments, garden cottages, and single-family homes as property and provide long-term loans for acquiring them.

The requirement, however, is that upon receiving the loan you would not have to do a great deal of legwork looking for the materials needed, but would pay for a finished house and subsequently would gradually pay back both the loan and the interest on it, just as is done in many countries.

[Lynev] In your frequent references to foreign examples, we perceive your experience of working "over there." Undoubtedly you have plenty of such experience, but is it not at the expense of your knowledge of our internal financial and credit system?

[Gerashchenko] Indeed, I am not bound by the experience and habits of working in the environment of the administrative- command system. However, how is it bad if we want to create an efficient banking system corresponding to economic restructuring in our country on the basis of world experience?

Planned Investment, Foreign Spending Hit

904A0025A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 89 p 1

[Report by A. Tsatsuyev: "And Again Through Inertia..."]

[Text] The discussion of the 1990 draft budget is already coming to an end in the commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet, and certain conclusions can be drawn.

As before, the budget will not play an independent role. Again it will be only a consequence of the draft of the plan for economic development.

The draft plan itself contains all the signs of the processes of inertia which are now typical of the economy. In other words, the extremely unsuccessful five-year plan continues to choke the entire economy and, naturally, the development of the economic plan for 1990.

How is this manifested?

First. We have practically failed at turning the resources in the national economy to social problems. Attention has not turned in the direction of social problems, more complete utilization of technological progress, or high product quality.

Second. We are not managing to significantly change the situation with respect to key budget items. For example, why is the volume of centralized capital investments still so great—83 billion rubles? Why will we have to retain this amount?

We must immediately conduct an inspection of construction projects. I think we should retain the facilities under construction that will contribute to solving social problems and expand the consumer market....

But what is happening now? We are eliminating the construction projects which will make it possible to solve crucial problems in the near future. And it is possible to name many construction projects and enterprises with technology that is 20 years old which they are trying to retain by any means.

Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] Chairman P.I. Mostovoy spoke to us deputies. He gave this as an example of a good result of his trip through Siberia: He was able to convince the leaders of an ammonium plant in Irkutsk Oblast to retain this production in spite of the demands of the public and the plant leadership itself to shut it down. I asked Pavel Ivanovich if he did not know that this plant uses equipment that was imported in 1947 as part of the reparations from Germany. Expenditures on the repair of this equipment are 5 times more than its value. Therefore to

consider it an achievement to retain this plant is nothing other than cost-oriented thinking in the highest echelons of authority.

Unfortunately, neither the Gosplan [State Planning Committee] nor the Ministry of Finance presented variants of the drafts of the plan and the budget which would provide for improvement in social life. Judge for yourselves: A contribution from overall investments into the consumer industry of 5.2 percent is nonsense. And 28 percent into the social sphere is less than in the period of stagnation!...

A serious discussion arose around the question of subsidies for the agroindustrial complex. Their gigantic scale and an increase—of 7 billion rubles!—raises doubts. I think it necessary to search for alternatives to this investment policy. And the most important question has to do with the volume of investments and where to put the money and to who to give it. To the unprofitable farms again?

Our foreign economic relations are a very serious issue. In essence we have become an insolvent power. Nobody will give us credit at the usual rates. And our debts will keep growing according to the plan for 1990.

We still have no strategy in foreign economic relations. From the standpoint of either imports or exports. This fact is a significant basis for our traditional foreign economic ties. We owe 84 billion and we are owed 87 billion rubles in hard currency. But more than half of it we are not likely to receive in the near future. But we still continue to give large amounts of aid to many countries. And they tell us that if we do not help them an explosive situation will develop. The question arises: Do we not have our own explosive situation?

Among the 14 budget programs there are large reserves in such a program, for example, as Mars. Flying to this planet is probably not our most crucial problem today.

What conclusion do I wish to draw from all this? It seems to me that we must form a new draft plan immediately. One that is firmly linked to the assignments of the five-year plan. This five-year plan is stillborn. It has "eaten up" 4 years and is "eating" the fifth and last year. But we can still stop this process....

Incidentally, Gennadiy Innokentyevich Filshin and other economists of the Planning, Budget and Finance Commission have prepared a number of their proposals for the draft budget for 1990.

Imports of Consumer Goods Advocated by Economists

904D0010A Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by economist S. Sokolov, Moscow: "Perestroyka on Credit"]

[Text] The concept of expanding the imports of consumer goods considerably has been expounded recently by well-known Soviet economists on many occasions. It has also been aired at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. However, criticizing this proposal has also become popular in our periodicals recently. The critics portray the advocates of this concept as the successors of the era of stagnation who strive to solve the problems of the day at the expense of eating into the national wealth of raw materials. They call the high budgetary efficiency of importing consumer goods a ministerial trick of the former Minvneshtorg [Ministry of Foreign Trade]. The only point which is incomprehensible is: Why do they reduce the entire issue to just one of the theses by N. Shmelev, loans for importing consumer goods?

Shmelev views imports not as an end in and of themselves but as a means of turning the ruble into an efficient catalyst of restructuring in our economy, as a means of combating the growth of inflation in the environment of a most acute shortage of merchandise. It is not the parasitic attitude of petroruble tycoons but rather the knowledge of the situation in the economy that prompts our most authoritative economists to raise the issue of importing such goods over and over again. After all, if the prediction by, say, O. Latsis comes true, in the 2 to 3 years to come, work for rubles will actually turn into work on credit for a promise to purchase the goods needed sometime in the future.

If this is not the "perestroyka on credit" which the opponents of consumer goods imports denounce then what is? However, in this case our Soviet people will be creditors. The loans collected from them almost forcibly could not be repaid to them in a timely manner. However, they still continue to provide loans for our economy, the preferential terms of which are unimaginable, failing in the process to receive the added product created by them and paying 5 or 10 times the price for regular consumer goods due to the incredibly high turnover tax and customs dues. What about the gigantic subsidies which are actually withheld from their wages? What about more than R60 billion of the state loan fund which the USSR Minfin [Ministry of Finance] includes in the revenue column but actually borrows from the people?

It appears expedient to change import priorities in general radically and to use international loans only as auxiliary. After all, not one respectable economist is actually thinking about saturating our market which is out of balance through imports alone. For example, N. Shmelev proposes, as a temporary measure, to increase the imports of consumer goods in the 4 to 5 years to come approximately by $5 billion a year (that is, until the new economic mechanism and the new structure of ownership begin to bear fruit). Let us make some calculations. Shmelev proposes to carry out purchases worth $20 to $25 billion over 5 years in order to alleviate (rather than eliminate) the merchandise vacuum in the market. By reducing the purchases of grain abroad by $1.5 to $2 billion a year ($7.5 to $10 billion over 5 years), as well as by reducing the imports of industrial equipment by at least $1 billion a year (that is, $5 billion over

5 years), we come up with $12 to $15 billion, i.e., actually one-half of the quota sought. Sources of additional savings may be also found in reducing the scope of industrial construction which, in turn, brings about a smaller need for new imports of equipment.

The remaining, smaller share of the quota needed is to be raised through foreign loans. Where then has the frequently quoted total of $30 to $40 billion which supposedly needs to be borrowed in order to pay for consumer goods imports come from? It turns out that this is an estimate by the well-known American economist V. Leontief. He believes that the private international financial market is prepared to extend this amount of loans to us. This, however, is not to say that all of this money has to be borrowed!

The last argument of the opponents of consumer goods imports goes like this: Supposedly, the 10-fold budgetary efficiency of them is a myth, due to the resourcefulness of the former Minvneshtorg, and the economists have supposedly taken that "bait." However, the point is that the indicator of budgetary efficiency itself reflects the ratio of domestic and world prices which has emerged. The difference between domestic and world prices is a weighty revenue item of the state budget.

Therefore, the profit may be calculated quite precisely: The additional $5 billion a year for the imports of consumer goods will yield goods worth about R30 billion for domestic trade, and about R27 billion will be taken in by the state budget as customs dues. This is relatively little compared to R300 billion on deposit at the Savings Bank and the total budget deficit of R120 billion. Nonetheless, against the backdrop of R70 billion which the populace has on hand and for which no goods are available, the expansion of the imports of consumer goods may play a major role in streamlining monetary circulation, improving the market situation, and eliminating panic buying. However, the main point is to restore to the ruble the role of an effective incentive for high-quality, intensive labor.

Agricultural

Defects in Vegetable Transportation Criticized

PM1310115189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Gavrichkin report under the rubric "Topics of the Day": "Incentives Advance the Cause"]

[Text] The figures in the reports are alarming: It is mid-October and the procurement of potatoes, vegetables, and fruit for the winter is proceeding worse than ever before almost everywhere. The shelves in fruit and vegatable stores are not exactly creaking with abundance as it should be at this time of year. This is by no means because there is nothing to sell.

In front of stores in Kalininskiy, Krasnogvardeyskiy, and Kuybyshevskiy Rayons in Leningrad, for instance, long lines for potatoes are frequently forming. Does this mean that the crop is bad? No way! However, the vegetable bases of these three rayons alone have yet to pick up more than 200,000 tonnes of potatoes from railroad stations. Some 140 freight cars have to be unloaded by the Kalininskiy Rayon base alone.

"It is as if suppliers had made a pact," base director V. Vlasov complains. "They have fulfilled the fall program ahead of schedule although staggered deliveries were envisaged in accordance with the contracts that we have concluded."

Disorder? Of course. However, I would be in no hurry to blame the potato growers. The potatoes have been lifted, should they perhaps leave them out in the open just to comply with the timetable? Furthermore, the agricultural workers cannot be sure that the departments which plan city food supplies will not spring another surprise on them. After all, it has happened before: Local farms developing their own production grew early potatoes, but the trade network refused to accept them because vegetable bases had received potatoes from... Georgia.

Two totally incompatible processes are constantly clashing in our our economic life today: On the one hand there is the rearing of responsible workers who are interested in the results of their labor, and on the other hand there is the same old ruthless administration by injunction. The results frequently could not be worse.

Here is an example. Sugar beet growers in Mordovia's Atyashevskiy Rayon dispatched almost one-fourth of raw material less than usual this year, despite the fact that they know how to work and this has been a good year for sugar beet. It emerged that in an effort to reduce the sugar shortage someone at the top decreed the abolition of the sugar allocation to sugar beet growers which they had always received before as an incentive in addition to financial remuneration. Thus we are "combatting" shortages by aggravating them.

After all, miracles usually do not happen. Especially in economic management. Where there is no real incentive, unreasonable orders and exhortations are not likely to advance the cause. Yet you get the impression that we are trying to resolve all our problems in precisely this manner.

Thousands of tonnes of food and industrial goods have accumulated at railroad stations and sea and river ports. The situation is so serious that the Presidium of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] has issued an appeal to all labor collectives to take the steps necessary to normalize the flow of goods. It is important now to ensure that the effort to resolve this task does not deteriorate into another short-lived campaign. What we need is not bailyhoo, but concrete organization at every specific sector.

For instance, Kharkov lessee vegetable growers did not raise a pointless rumpus about how to harvest and

dispose of an above-plan crop of tomatoes. The following notices appeared on the stalls of the wholesale-retail combine in Chernozavodskiy Rayon, Kharkov Oblast: "'Krasnyy Partizan' invites anyone who wants to pick his own tomatoes to come to its plantations." The conditions are simple: One in ten kilograms that you pick is yours free, and if that is not enough, you can buy what you require at half the normal price in the local store.

Here is an example from Leningrad. Workers at the Kalininskiy Rayon base which was mentioned earlier have organized sales of potatoes on housing developments without waiting for assistance from the trade network. The socioeconomic department of the "Leninskiy Metallicheskiy Zavod" association has asked the vegetable base to send three freight cars with potatoes to the plant straight from the railroad station. They are meant for the plant's workers. If only everyone acted in such a concrete fashion.

Agricultural Figures for 10-16 Oct Reported

LD1710045289

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 10-16 October, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

10 October

The 3 millionth tonne of cotton since the start of the harvest will be picked in Uzbekistan today. (0304)

A total of 1.5 million tonnes of grain crops have been harvested so far this year in Irkutsk Oblast. (1400)

The farms of the Baykal area have threshed 1.5 million tonnes of grain. They have obtained a yield of almost 21 quintals per hectare. (1600)

The farmers of Tselinograd Oblast have handed over to the state more than 2 million tonnes of grain. This is one-third of all the grain deliveries in the republic. Almost all the grain handed in has been evaluated as being of the highest category and quality. (1900)

11 October

By today 3 million tonnes of cotton have been gathered in Uzbekistan. (1200)

Stavropol farmers have finished autumn grain sowing. (1900)

12 October

The farmers of Tajikistan have dispatched 500,000 tonnes of cotton to procurement centres. (0304)

Astrakhan Oblast has already delivered more than 50,000 tonnes of rice to the state granaries. (1400)

The area sown to maize in Georgia today is more than 100,000 hectares. (1400)

Over 900,000 tonnes of raw cotton is in the purchase points and the state plan for the procurement of cotton is fulfilled by over 3 percent, which is unprecedented over the past 10 years. For the first time this year 39 cotton growing farms have concluded direct agreements for the delivery of cotton with Soviet and foreign textile works. Over half of the cotton was brought in by mechanizers. This year the republic's cotton growers undertook to sell the country 1.3 million tonnes of cotton. (1430)

13 October

No relevant reports

14 October

Tajikistan's farmers have delivered 1,000 tonnes of rice to the granaries. The average yield in the republic is over 40 quintals per hectare. It is intended to bring in over 140,000 quintals of rice altogether. (0304)

Farmers at most of Belorussia's farms have finished the potato harvest. They have dispatched more than 470,000 tonnes of potatoes. (0700)

Kirghiziya: 29,000 tonnes of raw cotton harvested. Kabardino-Balkariya: Sowing of winter crops completed. (1600)

15 October

The mechanized workers of Kirghiziya have fulfilled their socialist pledges for the automated harvesting of cotton, having unloaded 29,000 tonnes of raw cotton from their combines. (0204)

Harvesting of the 4 millionth ton of cotton is being completed in Uzbekistan. The lag at the start of the harvest owing to late ripening of the crop has been practically made up for. About 30,000 combines are working. On many farms over two-thirds of the cotton is picked by combine. (2230)

16 October

The farmers of Tadjikistan have bundled up 600,000 tonnes of cotton, which is more than two-thirds of the entire harvest it plans to gather in this year.

Military

Gorbachev, Yazov Address Military Council

LD1810185289 Moscow TASS in English 1846 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—The Chief Military Council at the Defence Council of the USSR held a meeting today. It was attended by members and alternate members of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, heads of defence industries and high-ranking officials of the party apparatus.

Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, who is an alternate member of the Politburo and holds the rank of general of the army, made a report on the current state and future of the Soviet Armed Forces in keeping with requirements of the defensive military doctrine and in view of armed forces reduction and cuts in defence spending.

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, president of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Defence Council of the USSR, assessed in his concluding remarks the current state and future development of the armed forces and advanced tasks of invigorating perestroyka in the army and navy.

Generals, Admirals Address Meeting

LD1810201589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1816 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 18 Oct (TASS)—The Main Military Council attached to the USSR Defense Council met today. [passage omitted]

Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy; Army Generals Yu. P. Maksimov, V.I. Varennikov, and I.M. Tretyak, commanders-in-chief of Armed Forces' forces; Fleet Amiral V.N. Chernavin; Defense Industry Minister B.M. Belousov; USSR deputy defense ministers; and the commanders of a number of military districts, groups of troops, and fleets addressed the meeting.

In conclusion, the participants in the meeting were addressed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Chairman of the USSR Defense Council, who gave an assessment of the state and development of the Armed Forces and tasks set for stepping up perestroyka in the Army and Navy.

General on Concern at Society's Attitude to Army

PM1810140389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

["Deputy's Opinion" by Army General V. Lobov, USSR people's deputy and chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces: "An Assault on Honor"]

[Text] Many Soviet people have recently expressed their serious worry about the debate launched by the press concerning the decline of the Army's prestige in society. They simultaneously ask the perfectly reasonable question: "What are our generals doing? Are they in any way worried about the army's prestige?" How come they—competent, honest, and courageous people performing a difficult service and tempered by life—seem unable to stand up for themselves?

Yes, dear compatriots, we—soldiers and generals alike—are worried, we are very worried indeed.

There are certain sacred ideas which have remained immutable throughout the Army's existence. A soldier's honor is one of them. The Army itself must certainly worry about the honor of the Armed Forces. On the other hand, the Army has always reflected the honor of its people. The centuries-old principle of "Honor in Service!" presumed the defense of this honor not only by the military but also by the society whose interests they are called upon to defend. Since society has entrusted the Army with its defense, it must ensure that the Army and its officer corps have an opportunity to do their job without any worry, it must protect the Army from attacks, from outrages against its history, from desecration of its relics. Why should the military, instead of mounting their combat guard and getting down to the training and education of troops, have to justify themselves and prove that society needs them and they are called upon to defend it, that they do not resemble the image some ideologists try to present in the mass media in an attempt to launch a campaign targeted at demoralizing the Soviet young people and Army?

A number of publications carry almost daily statements about serious defects allegedly existing in the Army, about its critical moral state. Public opinion about the situation in our Armed Forces is today often shaped by people who are far removed from the sphere of military activity and who are, furthermore, unscrupulous. There are times when the press, especially the youth press, leaves the military topic in the hands of people who have never served in the Army and have no idea of its specific features, or of people who are not averse to settling some sort of personal grudge against the Army. Is this not the reason why the conversation about hard army life is conducted in a style of cheap irony, mockery, and political demagoguery? Such publications could probably gain popularity among a certain section of young people, but this popularity would be highly dubious.

Of course, doubts about former postulates can be publicly raised in an atmosphere of glasnost and people can offer their own point of view. But is it legitimate to cast aside experience, traditions, and experience of educating the growing generation? Is it not immoral to smear dirt on the walls of the home we ourselves have built, to criticize our own labor? How is it possible, for example, to cast doubt on the rituals of mounting honor guards at monuments and memorials, or the holding of military sports games? Why prevent children from playing with war toys or building model aircraft, ships, and tanks?

Demagogical claims that all these rituals supposedly develop "bellicosity" in young souls introduce pacifistic ideas into young people's minds and create doubts about the need for universal military service and the very readiness to defend the fatherland. How is it possible to raise a patriot and a citizen without cultivating his readiness to defend his fatherland?

It has become almost "fashionable" in some mass media to attack the honor of the military and the Soviet Army's history. For some unknown reason, nobody seems to

question the fact that for more than 4 decades now the titanic labor of every soldier, officer, and general has firmly guaranteed our country's safety from war. But will this guarantee be as firm tomorrow, seeing that certain ideologists are now trying to persuade public opinion that the socialist army is a "social evil?"

A military man prepared to give his life for the motherland's honor and independence cannot painlessly suffer his fellow citizens' callous and scornful attitude toward his military labor. Servicemen can be protected from abuse and slander not through silent complicity but through consolidation of society's healthy forces.

Everything has its effect. One of the consequences of this situation is the fact that young people joining the Army today display a negative attitude toward service. It is no secret that there are growing numbers of people evading the draft and refusing to take the oath, there are growing numbers of people who have acquired a criminal record before joining the Army, and there is no decline in the percentage of young alcoholics and drug addicts. Should the Army alone be held responsible for these diseases of society or should it, together with the whole of society, treat these maladies?

Our state's history teaches us always to be prepared to defend the socialist fatherland. The degree of material and moral readiness for this defense of the motherland is the indicator of our viability. Ensuring Soviet people's well-being means more than just making sure that everyone is fed and clothed. Man's supreme well-being means having peaceful skies above his head.

Attempts to give the Soviet people the impression that the Army is a "hanger-on" are based on a not always openly expressed but always implied belief that the time of wars in mankind's history has been irrevocably consigned to the past. Being a professional military man, I would like to firmly assure certain "pacified" philosophers and current affairs writers that we are still a long way away from the time when it might be possible to talk about having completely eliminated the threat of war. It is absurd to overlook the huge U.S. military budget and the fact that the Pentagon has concentrated in its hands all the advanced scientific and technical ideas and the latest technologies of the capitalist world. We must not forget for a single moment that the political foundation of contemporary U.S. theory and practice is the policy of "direct confrontation" with the USSR on a global and regional scale, a policy envisaging the maximum possible weakening of socialism's positions in our country, right to the point of its elimination via the application of military force.

We have embarked on a large-scale program for reducing the numerical strength of our Armed Forces and armaments, and we are significantly reducing our defense expenditures. But has the West supported our unilateral steps aimed at disarmament? And how is one to reconcile the call for peace with the further escalation of U.S. military-industrial programs?

Our state cannot exist in the present-day military-political conditions without an army. We will be taken into account for as long as we are capable of maintaining the military-strategic equilibrium.

The Soviet people have always loved their Army. In my view, there is no decline in the Army's prestige. It is rather a case of wanting to give public opinion the impression that the Army is losing its prestige among the people, of attempts being made to create among the people a negative attitude toward the Army and, consequently, to cultivate an inferiority complex among servicemen. Moreover, the campaign to demoralize young people in the Army is waged by small groups of persons sheltering beneath the mastheads of authoritative publications and striving to usurp the right to speak on behalf of the whole people. Could it be that the Army is being subjected to attacks because today it is politically the most cohesive and morally the healthiest section of society?

The Army cannot lead a life in isolation from the people. Like a mirror, it reflects all society's maladies and ills. We are not trying to evade responsibility for the mistakes and blunders of the past. We admit with profound regret that many unresolved problems have accumulated in the Armed Forces over the last few years, that serious shortcomings have developed in the organization of combat and political training. Distortions were allowed to occur in cadre policy. Military thinking found itself constrained within this framework of dogmatism and stagnation. Conservative ideas prevailed, and bold new approaches toward military science and the building of the Armed Forces were rejected. Deterioration of military discipline, growing numbers of accidents involving equipment and armaments, improper behavior by some officers, serious omissions in combat alert duty—these factors could not have failed to affect the Army's prestige.

In this context, it is necessary to accept the fair criticism leveled against us. We are aware of our country's citizens worry over the Army's future. We realize the desire of society's vanguard section to ensure moral recovery in the Army and Navy environment, to restore social justice regarding living and consumer service conditions for servicemen and their families. We are in favor of criticism, but let it be constructive. We are against biased material about the Armed Forces which does not give the mass readership truthful information about everything that is happening in the Army today.

Nothing stands still. Society is developing, and so are all its institutions. There is need for reinterpretation, reassessment, and new approaches in everything concerning the Armed Forces. It must be boldly admitted that today we are at the point where there is a pressing need to implement reforms in the state's entire defense building.

The soldier's work is not easy. It does not in any way differ from the physical labor of a lathe operator, a miner, a sovkhoz member, a steelworker. It is highly

regrettable that over the last few years there has been a noticeable change in attitudes toward the worker's vocation and that actual respect for physical labor is being lost, hence the negative attitude toward a soldier's labor.

The military press has recently and justifiably raised the alarm about the Soviet Army's possible transformation into a Worker and Peasant Red Army. It is appropriate to ask in this context: Why is it that our intelligentsia, with its centuries-old traditions of noble concern for soldiers and officers, is trying to evade the quest for ways to ensure a moral recovery in and around the Army? Could it possibly be that, after the adoption of the USSR Supreme Soviet's well-known decision, many of its members have managed to lift the burden of these problems from their sons' shoulders?

The artificial division of young people into those for whom military service is mandatory and those who are lucky enough to avoid it is unfair and contrary to the concept of a law-based state. The Constitution is an immutable law; and once adopted, it must be implemented religiously.

The honor of the people, the state, and the Army, the honor of the citizen and the soldier constitute an integrated concept. Today we need juridical guarantees to prevent any encroachments on this sacred honor. The time has come to define clearly our attitude toward those who would like to draw a dividing line between the Army and the people. It is right now that we must let them hear our firm "No." Those serving in the Army are not mercenary foreigners; they are our own children. They are the offspring of the Soviet soldiers who gave their lives to ensure that the motherland remains a sovereign state. This is precisely why the state must not allow any blasphemous attitudes toward the sacred cause of Soviet people's defense.

Antimilitary Youth Program Causes Debate

90UM0009A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 30 Sep 89 p 11

[Letter to the "View" youth TV program signed by Lieutenant Colonel I. Prostyakov, ideological worker of the Siberian Military District, followed by "View" written response to the letter signed by reserve officers D. Zakharov, V. Listyev, S. Lomakin, A. Lysenko, A. Lyubimov, V. Mukusev, A. Politkovskiy, and A. Shipilov]

[Text] Letter to "View"

The USSR Congress of People's Deputies clearly demonstrated that, along with the constructively inclined majority in the congress and in the country, which is trying to find a way to get perestroyka moving, a certain kind of a minority exists and is active. Using the ideas of renewal as a cover, these people are undertaking efforts which lead, in the final analysis, to the political and ideological destabilization of society.

The army ideological workers of Siberia express serious concern over the fact that state mass media resources are being used more and more to implement these efforts. In the case in question, sharp attacks are directed at the erosion of the processes of military patriotic education and the denigration of the Soviet armed forces.

The youth program "View" is a glaring example of this in television. While previously the majority of us believed the "Vzglyad" to be childishly superficial and filled with juvenile extremes, the telecast that coincided with the last day of the work of the congress, convinces us of the error of this point of view. The telecast of 9 June of this year is the opinion of a mature person who thoroughly professionally, and not without a divine spark, thrust his opinion on the viewers. Only was it really "divine?"

The official "View" flag is adorned with the slogans Humanism, Conscience, Justice, and Impartiality.... We would like to take this flag and carry it together with the principal prominent television programs to meet our renewed tomorrow. But, alas, the hand will not move to the flagstaff. Perhaps the "opinion-makers" [vzglyadovets] will explain our letter with the "traditional" inertia when we do not see the forest for the trees? However, everything in due course.

On 9 June, there was an episode among others in the telecast about military patriotic education. "Zernitsa" and "Orlenok," they said, are a throwback to stagnation, they spread militaristic thinking among children, and they do not stimulate the development of moral qualities in a child. In the end, a question was addressed to a group of schoolboys: "Do you have weapons?" "Ye-e-s-s!" they cried.

This cry, which penetrated every home and family, apparently was supposed to evoke a protest. A protest against the very same military sports games, against the training of youth for service in the army, and, in the end, against the army itself. Because, according to Academician Sakharov "no one is attacking us." And why is there no attack? Perhaps all of the weapons on the planet have been eliminated and armies have been abolished in connection with the warming in the international situation? Alas, the political leadership of the United States and NATO is not hastening with an answer to the unilaterial reduction of our armaments. "View" is hurriedly, but rather accurately, hitting the mark. For example, it is hitting with the argument of one of its heroes of the episode cited above: The military does not want to change the situation, because they do not want to lose privileges and prestige.

But a telecast cannot be penetrating and objective if its "eyes" are bandaged with prejudice. Why is nothing said about the fact that the youth are not hurrying to acquire these "privileges?" About the massive reports of officers and officer candidates who want to get away from the moral and everyday "charms" of army service and quickly emerse themselves in the burdens of workdays in

civilian life? The fate of thousands of people who left their paternal homes, disdaining a stable way of life, could have been a subject of discussion; the fate of officers who did not go where they wanted to, but where it was necessary: In the Siberian taiga and the mountains of Afghanistan, the sands of Central Asia, and the ice of the Arctic. Now, in connection with the reduction that is going on, part of them, having lost their strength and health, are going back to "square one." True, local authorities are promising them care, heartfelt cordiality, and participation. But, unfortunately, "riffed" officers frequently encounter something entirely different. Is not this a subject for discussion in a telecast? There is a lot that could be found to talk about if the bandage of an obvious, although subtly served bias, were to be removed from "Vzglyad." One could once again hear the speech of the former soldier-internationalist at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies on the 9 June program. Remember, it was greeted warmly and hotly supported by many in the auditorium? But, apparently, this attitude does not please "View." In order to neutralize the social and political activity of the internationalists, and to present them as a mere tool in someone's hands, the program provides the verses of Ye. Yevtushenko as a contrast. Well, let what has been written remain on the conscience of the famous poet. But who gains from all of this?

But now we will direct our view on past telecasts. For example, on the one that elucidated the tragic events in Tbilisi. The serious accusation of a commited crime is being thrown into the face of the army before a huge TV audience. The opinion of the host and guests do not differ; they only refine and supplement each other. It would seem, for the purposes of objectivity, that the opinion of military representatives of the internal troops should also be heard, in other words, the "culprits." But no! This would not have blended in with the harmonious choir. It is much easier "to hang the label" and afterwards at odd moments to note: They say the "commission will look into it." Indeed, it will look into it! But for now all of us, regardless of place of service, are forced to shake everything off and sort things out. It is not possible to protect the Motherland without the trust of the people, just as it is not possible to waive elementary moral and professional principles in the preparation of a telecast. Or is this possible all the same?

Let the need for armed forces, as some believe, be on the point of falling away. But allow us to say, they were created by society, and it, seemingly, should also announce the reverse. However, it is amorally unnatural to urge such an announcement, with the help of television to stimulate hostility toward people who have linked their lives with the Army according to a constitutional callup of society, and to denigrate the Army itself, taking as its weapon only one language—the language of sarcasm.

On the whole, it turns out that some moral slogans from the "View" flag should be temporarily removed. We hope not for long.

[Signed] Lieutenant Colonel I. Prostyakov, ideological worker of the Siberian Military District.

The letter received unanimous approval at a meeting of ideological workers of the Siberian Military District

Colonel V. Ivlikov, chief of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation and deputy chief of the Political Directorate of the Siberian Military District.

Answer from "View"

Dear Comrades, we looked through your letter with great interest and attention. We must say that it made an ambiguous impression on us. On the one hand, it contains a number of critical remarks that could be the subject of a debate. On the other hand, certain paragraphs are sadly reminiscent of Stalin's time when an "ideological base" was placed under the approaches and way of thinking of those who see the world somewhat differently from you. But, as is known, the opinion of one person or group of people is not always the truth in the last instance. As you could have become convinced from the work of the Supreme Soviet, differences of opinion do not assume the persecution by deputies with one point of view of deputies with another point of view. We want to remind you of the words of Socrates that truth is born in controversy. And controversy is the lack of coincidence of points of view. In addition, the opinion of each of the sides can contain elements of common sense. It is from this position that we approached your letter. There is one more ancient saying: "If you want to know the truth, listen, and do not put your words in someone else's mouth." Inasmuch as you state that we are "denigrating the Soviet armed forces," that we are trying "to neutralize the social and political activity of the soldier-internationalists..." and that with the help of television we are "stimulating hostility toward people who have linked their lives with the Army...," we will furnish some explanation. We will begin with the fact that all of us are reserve officers and that many of us have seen active military service and have worked in Afghanistan. None of us ever thought it necessary to abolish military service. The Army is absolutely necessary as long as the possibility of an outside threat exists. But under the conditions of the changing socio-economic structure of society, this spehere also cannot remain unchanged. You, very likely, will agree that scientific-technical progress in the army must continue without interruption? But the preservation of relationships, which have not changed for decades, and the economic status of an army that does not join with other changing structures of society, is the equivalent of self-isolation. In addition, (and this is no longer concealed by military leaders of the highest rank, nor by the army press) there are quite a few abnormal phenomena of a moral nature. Impartial criticism, if you recall, was also directed at the Army at sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet from the mouths of elected representatives. But you probably did not send letters of a similar content to these people's deputies, accusing them of denigration as well. But that about which they talked was said by us, but somewhat

earlier—one of the main tasks of our telecasts is to probe the the stream of the social conscience.

What is more, a lack of control, as is known, gives rise to excesses and abuses. For decades the people have given the army all that was the best. Not that which it could, but that which it needed. No one thought about what the criteria was for this need. Not very long ago an open discussion of military programs and budget for the next year was an unthinkable matter. Of course, it can be said that you do not economize on security. However, in all states, including the United States, they are trying to control the military budget, and at times Congress is able to cut it. This is in a country which, as we believe, will stop at nothing in its military preparations. But is the combat capability of our army, in which national resources have been invested, adequate?

The flight of Mathius Rust and the incidents with our submarines and aircraft are only several of the ChP's [emergency] about which "simple mortals" were allowed to know. How many were we not permitted to know about? Our telecasting has been and continues to be for total glasnost on these questions, because they also have a connection with our security. But there is a tendency on the part of a number of military figures (and still a rather determined one) to let the Army remain an area that is beyond criticism. However, as life shows, a return to the old ways is no longer possible. Especially because those who criticize want the Army to become better and not worse.

We agree with you that our program should raise questions of army way of life and the legal protection of officers and enlisted personnel. We will say honestly: We have not yet been able to do this. We receive quite a few letters from officers from their locations which talk about problems and the lack of guarantees of their rights, but, as a rule, they ask that their names not be mentioned. However, we will get into these subjects, because what is happening in the army is no secret to anyone. Hence, the drop in interest in military service. While, previously, the Army was a source of guaranteed earnings and a more or less decent existence, the standard of living it now offers is much lower than in the civilian sector. Those who work on "View" believe that it is high time to change such a humiliating situation.

Military patriotic education also depends directly on the prestige of military service. You can count on your fingers the countries where children are trained at a very young age to handle weapons and the idea that they will have to kill someone. Must a patriotic education be required to be military? The film "Until the First Blood" is devoted to this, a clip of which was shown on the "View" program on 9 June. One can agree or not agree with the positions of its authors, but it is worth pondering: Did not the stress on violence in children's games lead to the brutality in Tbilisi? Incidentally, the material about this tragic event, which was presented in our program, was viewed by your colleagues from the internal troops beforehand, and it did not raise any objections from them.

Finally, we are interested in any dialogue with representatives of the armed forces, even one that is sharply critical, but we would like to ask one thing: There is no need to hang labels and make accusations of political unreliability. The country paid with the lives of millions of people at one time for such forms of intercourse. Somehow it also does not sound officer-like.

[Signed] Reserve Officers D. Zakharov, V. Listyev, S. Lomakin, A. Lysenko, A. Lyubimov, V. Mukusev, A. Politkovskiy, and A. Shipilov

Military Leaders Sign Health Minister's Obituary

PM1710144789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[Obituary of Ye.I. Smirnov]

[Excerpts] On 6 October 1989 Medical Service Colonel General Yefim Ivanovich Smirnov, retired, participant in the Great Patriotic War, organizer and theoretician of Soviet military and civilian health care, academician of the USSR Medical Sciences Academy, and Hero of Socialist Labor, died after a serious illness. He devoted the whole of his adult life to selfless service of the motherland and the cause of the Communist Party, of which he had been a member since 1929. [Passage omitted]

In the period 1947-1953 he was USSR health minister; he then spent more than 30 years in senior posts in the USSR Defense Ministry. [Passage omitted]

[Signed] D.T. Yazov, Ye.I. Chazov, A.S. Pavlov, M.A. Moiseyev, P.G. Lushev, K.A. Kochetov, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, V.I. Varennikov, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, V.M. Arkhipov, V.M. Shabanov, N.V. Chekov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, Yu.A. Yashin, S.K. Kurkotkin, I.M. Denisov, V.I. Pokrovskiy, F.I. Komarov, E.A. Nechayev, V.I. Yevstigneyev, V.P. Khrobostov, V.I. Nikulin.